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24 September 2024

Report to: **Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Authority (ECPHRA)**

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The presence of a minority Griqua-Khoe among a majority abaMbo–amaMfengu, Sensitive Area 1 near Tsomo, Eastern Cape: The contribution of the Phase 1–3 Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) and heritage management process in the (re)construction of previously neglected, marginalised, and/or unrecognised histories and heritages in a development context.

ABSTRACT

The Phase 1 identification, Phase 2a site documentation/sketch plan recording, and Phase 3 permanent conservation of Sensitive Area 1 (Sites C9P5-06 to C9P5-10) for a water supply project near Tsomo, Eastern Cape, resulted in the classification of Sensitive Area 1 as a minority Khoe—interpreted as a Griqua–Khoe—settlement among a majority abaMbo–amaMfengu Xhosa-granted pre-colonial contact (or indigenous) residing. Classification of the Sensitive Area 1 settlement as a Griqua–Khoe settlement is based on the description of the *Giaques Cassange*'s camp layout, Angola, by Cavazzi and Labat (1732), and is summarised as a developed labyrinthian maze-like pattern based on a rectangular underlying paradigm (worldview). Sensitive Area 1, thus, comprises a Griqua–Khoe pre-colonial contact/indigenous *Type Site*, or previously unrecorded/undocumented settlement pattern.

Nearby majority abaMbo–amaMfengu (unrecorded) settlements also display a rectangular settlement pattern. Both settlement patterns—the Sensitive Area 1 Griqua–Khoe and the unrecorded abaMbo–amaMfengu patterns—are associated with early Mfengu settlement after Hintsa, chief/king of the Gcaleka-Xhosa, had granted the *difaqane*-ravaged scatters of tribes/clans from Natal refuge in Gcalekaland in 1818. These rectangular-based settlement patterns are, therefore, interpreted as pre-colonial contact/indigenous patterns, and are notably different from that of nearby Mdlokolo village (Sensitive Area 2), also based on a rectangular settlement pattern but with easily identifiable Western-accultured elements and established under the 1865 British Cape government *Transkeian Territories–Fingoland* resettlement programme.

Rectangular based settlements as possible pre-colonial contact/indigenous settlement patterns must be archaeologically recognised, and such sites may potentially be highly significant. Documentation of Mfengu settlements under Xhosa rule, before the *Fingoland* resettlement programme, holds the potential of tracing migration routes of the amaMfengu Khoe and abaMbo tribes/clans northward to Natal, and beyond, all the way to at least their various homelands in the provincial regions of the former Kingdom of Monoemugi, from where they were expelled by Zimbo's muZimba invasions of circa 1575.

The Sensitive Area 1 archaeological project—despite its limited Phase 2a level sketch plan recording scope—underscores the importance of the Phase 1–3 Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) and heritage management process in the acquisition of information and specifically the inclusion thereof in the (re)construction of previously neglected, marginalised, and/or unrecognised histories into the broader body-knowledge of heritage in a development context, as development proceeds. However, the study also alludes to the negative impact of the dominant post-1994 Imperialist/neo-Imperialist paradigm on the (re)construction of histories and the heritage rights of affected peoples.

CONTENTS

1. Sensitive Area 1 near Tsomo, Eastern Cape: The presence of a minority Griqua-Khoe among a majority abaMbo-amaMfengu 3

2. Introductory notes on the amaMfengu 10

3. Embo/eMbo, the Mbo and abaMbo–amaMfengu homeland 13

4. Tracing the Embo/eMbo homeland 15

5. The grave of Abee Mdlokolo, Sensitive Area 1 near Tsomo, Eastern Cape 20

- ❖ The grave of Abee Mdlokolo 20
- ❖ Settlement pattern and migration routes 23
- ❖ The grave of Abee Mdlokolo and Mdlokolo village 24

6. The negative impact of the Imperialist/neo-Imperialist paradigm on the (re)construction of histories 27

7. Conclusion: Assessment of the Phase 2a Sensitive Area 1 documentation/sketch plan recording in a development context 31

- ❖ Sensitive Area 1 near Tsomo: The Phase 1–3 HIA and heritage management process 31
- ❖ Concluding remarks 32

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Khoe (or Hottentot) socio-political hierarchical structure (Van Ryneveld 2023a) 5

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1: General locality of Tsomo and Sensitive Area 1 in the Eastern Cape 3
Map 2: Pierre du Val, Cafrerie et Monomotapa, circa 1663 7
Map 3: Isaak Tirion, Kaart van het Zuidelykste Gedeelte van Afrika of het Land der Hottentotten, circa 1730 7
Map 4: Sketch plan of Sensitive Area 1, near Tsomo (Van Ryneveld 2023a) 9
Map 5: Map of the Transkeian Territories, circa 1879 11
Map 6: The prevalence of the placename Embo/eMbo in the greater Durban region, KwaZulu-Natal, and to a lesser extent in the Eastern Cape, Google Earth (August 2024) 16
Map 7: Murray's map of central and southern Africa, 1891 (Murray 1891) 18
Map 8: The inferred general locality of the Giaques/Griqua(s) homeland in the Zaire provincial regions of Monoemugi before Zimbo's invasion of their homeland, circa 1575 19
Map 9: Distribution of the original ethnic/cultural Griqua–Khoe clan-name Mdlokolo across Natal and the Eastern Cape, Google Earth (August 2024) 26
Map 10: Walker's 1922 new history map of the Khoe/pastoralists origin in the south-western Cape peninsula region and their migration routes into the interior and along the western and southern coasts (Walker 1922) 28
Map 11: Possible migration routes of the Khoe/pastoralists, as published in Deacon and Deacon's Human Beginnings in Southern Africa (1999) 28
Map 12: Migration to and arrival of the Khoe/pastoralists in southern Africa, based on DNA analysis (Vicente et. al. 2021) 28

LIST OF PLATES

Plate 1: Sensitive Area 1, near Tsomo (Van Ryneveld 2023a) 9
Plate 2: Graves at the Site C9P5-09.3 family cemetery 21
Plate 3: The grave of Abee Mdlokolo, situated just outside the C9P5-09.3 camp 21

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Sensitive Area 1 project summary 31

1. Sensitive Area 1 near Tsomo, Eastern Cape: The presence of a minority Griqua-Khoe among a majority abaMbo-amaMfengu

Map 1: General locality of Tsomo and Sensitive Area 1 in the Eastern Cape

My 2023 report on *Sensitive Area 1*[1] near Tsomo, Eastern Cape, refers. Sensitive Area 1 comprises the Sites C9P5-06 to C9P5-10 homestead complex, a small "village"/camp site. Site C9P5-09 is an extensive homestead, central to the layout or settlement pattern of Sensitive Area 1 and the site's description as a developed labyrinthian maze-like pattern based on a rectangular underlying paradigm (worldview). The Sensitive Area 1 pattern, thus, starkly contrasts the Central Cattle Pattern (CCP) that typifies Nguni settlement layout (and with consideration to CCP variation among the Xhosa).

At Sensitive Area 1 the original organic (wooden) build structures have decayed: their rectangular-based shaped outlines are visible on-site, but more than often by difficult discernible mound remains only, although basic larger patterns are detectable on aerial imagery. Stone structures—mainly kraal remains and ruins—constitute the most visible signatory site features, albeit providing for a skeleton-like impression of the actual site. Various large waterholes at the site, clustered around Site C9P5-09, are not only noteworthy but key to the site's interpretation. Although the general water-rich landscape seems amenable to natural waterhole formation, anthropogenic agents are argued as responsible for the majority of the waterholes, with their in excess of 3m in diameter surface openings and 2+m depths down to collapsed debris fills.

The Sensitive Area 1 settlement pattern is both unique and unknown, at least in the Eastern Cape. The pattern does not seem to be endemic: sites with a basic or primordial layout that could have developed into the Sensitive Area 1 pattern are also absent from Eastern Cape records. The Sensitive Area 1 settlement pattern is, therefore, inferred to have arrived in the Eastern Cape as an already developed pattern. Its rectangular features are certainly unique—not in terms of basic rectangular feature shapes, for other old abaMbo homestead remains in the greater area also boasts a rectangular underlying pattern, albeit very different in composite layout from that of Sensitive Area 1, and giving the impression of a minority Settlement Area 1 people among a majority abaMbo–amaMfengu group.

The rectangular settlement pattern at Sensitive Area 1 as well as that of the majority abaMbo–amaMfengu (to date unrecorded) counters the generally held belief that rectangular settlement shapes are consequent to Western colonial acculturative impact. At Sensitive Area 1 and the surrounding majority abaMbo–amaMfengu settlements, site layouts vested in rectangular underlying patterns are

[1] Van Ryneveld, K. (ArchaeoMaps). 2023a. Phase 2a Archaeological Site Documentation/Sketch Plan: Sensitive Area 1 – Cluster 9 Phase 5 and Cluster 8 Linkage, Water Supply and Access Road, Nxamagele and Catshile, near Tsomo, Chris Hani District Municipality, Eastern Cape.

argued as indigenous, albeit not endemic to the greater Tsomo region. The layout of Mdlokolo village (Sensitive Area 2), somewhat west of Sensitive Area 1, speaks of the typical Western "village" idiom, with its houses and gardens (or "yards") situated to one side and its livestock enclosures to the other (and across the access road that runs through the village), thus, notably different from the argued indigenous settlement patterns where all aspects of village life are on homestead level included in the overall layout.

Based on the layout of Mdlokolo village, it is argued that the village was established only after the 1865 British Cape government *Transkeian Territories–Fingoland* resettlement programme, while the indigenous rectangular underlying settlement patterns, by definition, represent pre-colonial contact layouts consequent to amaMfengu settlement under Xhosa rule, after 1818.

Settlement layout at Sensitive Area 1, in the absence of even variable CCP elements, excludes the site as an early Xhosa settlement and it excludes Western acculturative influence, be it Cape government or missionary influence; raising, in turn, the inevitable question of who the builders and inhabitants of the site were. Two hypotheses were at once contemplated:

1. That there was among the amaMfengu—or the greater *Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo* culture cluster of tribes/clans[2]—who fled the *difaqane*, or Shaka's War (circa 1815–1835), from the greater Natal area and who were, in 1818, afforded residency in Gcalekaland by Hintsa[3], chief/king of the Gcaleka–Xhosa, a tribe/clan, or an incorporated section of such a tribe/clan, of a culture very different from that generally associated with not only the Nguni but also the majority abaMbo–amaMfengu of the area. This minority section of the amaMfengu is inferred to have practised a more pastoralist centred lifeway that resulted in the different Sensitive Area 1 settlement pattern (and associated site features, such as waterholes). Pastoralist elements may have been original Mbo cultural aspects (by comparison with the Ovambo of Namibia and Angola), or acculturative or direct Later Stone Age (LSA) pastoralist (Khoe or *Hottentot*) aspects.

2. That the Sensitive Area 1 site represents the settlement of a people prior to the seizure of political power by the Xhosa in the greater Eastern Cape region (circa1670–1750). In accordance with this hypothesis, the site would represent the settlement pattern of the *original inhabitants* of the area, and where the *original inhabitants* are inferred to have been a Chainouqua (or Gonaqua/Korana) clan/band cluster (or a people of a kindred Khoe tribe/band). With the Khoe political lead—or the Chobona—overthrown further north, and the Chainouqua (the "Little Chobona", or the second-in-charge) defeated by the Xhosa during the Xhosa–Khoe wars of the late seventeenth to mid eighteenth centuries, the site fell into disuse.

Should Sensitive Area 1 represent an *original inhabitant* or Chainouqua-type settlement layout, it is argued that the pattern must be present elsewhere in the province/site surrounds—in developmental or developed stages/forms—because the Chainouqua was, according to Khoe socio-political hierarchical structure, the "Little Chobona"/chief choebaha, or chief of the regional chiefs, and also choebaha of the south-east region. Migration of the Chainouqua to the region should be considered, but even in a migration scenario the settlement "track-log" of sites is amiss from the archaeological record. The complete absence of identified Khoe sites in eastern southern Africa, specifically between Cape Corrientes (or Cape of the Courans/Koranas, near Sofala, Mozambique) and the southern foothills of the Drakensberg mountains, the stronghold of the Chainouqua, is of grave concern. The second hypothesis was, therefore, preliminary set aside and the first hypothesis focussed on in an attempt to further identify and interpret Sensitive Area 1.

[2] Bikitsha, M. 2019. AmaMfengu – re-thinking Fingoism/Fingoness: Contextualizing Hintsa's approach, the 1835 "Fingo Vows" and its effect to the progressed socioeconomic development of the Eastern Cape in the 183 years, with a view to Mfengu identity (an act of who you are), and self-determination.
[3] Hintsa kaKhawuta (circa 1780–1835).

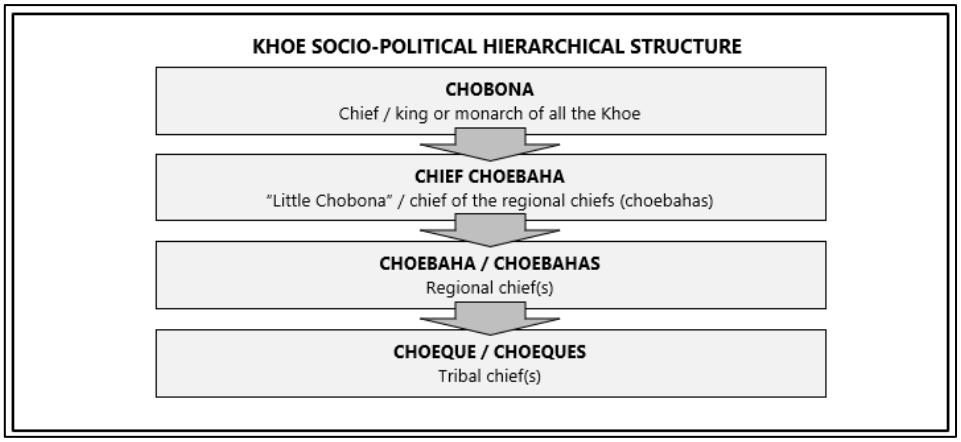


Figure 1: Khoe (or *Hottentot*) socio-political hierarchical structure (Van Ryneveld 2023a)

Within the parameters of the first hypothesis a scenario of a minority Khoe among a majority abaMbo–amaMfengu was prioritised, based principally on the presence of waterholes at Sensitive Area 1 and because the practise and use of waterholes are widely recorded in KhoiSan histories, but as yet remain unrecorded among the Iron Age farmer, or Bantu/Ba'Ntu, peoples of southern Africa, aside from the Ovambo of Namibia and Botswana[4].

Cavazzi and Labat[5], French missionaries who worked in Portuguese Angola during the latter part of the seventeenth/early eighteenth century, recorded Zimbo's (chief/king of the Muzimba/muZimba) invasion of the *Giaques*—or the Griqua(s)[6]—homeland, sited in the Congo/provincial regions of the Kingdom of Monoemugi, sometime between 1491 and 1592 (and most likely toward the latter part of the time range). They recorded the events as recounted by their informants, a subjugated and incorporated section of the *Giaques*/Griqua(s)—the *Giaques Cassange*—and their consequent arrival as a section of the Muzimba/Chilomba in Angola. The record of the invasion of the *Giaques/*Griqua(s)' homeland alludes to a fairly recent and reasonably (re)constructable Griqua history[7]. It, however, designates the *Giaques*/Griqua(s) as a people with a fifteenth/sixteenth century recorded principal presence northward of South Africa, directly contrary to Imperialist/neo-Imperialist history that holds the Griqua as a people with a recent seventeenth to eighteenth century mixed-race origin in the south-western Cape:

> The Griqua are South Africa's rainbow people, a multicultural mix of people, deeply religious, with their origins in the very first sexual encounter between a KhoiKhoi [Khoe] woman and Dutch male colonist. Since then, as happened in days of exploration and pioneering, their descendants have integrated with Afrikaans, English, Germans, French, Malay, Tswana and San. According to historical archives, they have been in search of their own land ever since[8].
>
> Griqua was the name given to a mixed-race culture in the Cape Colony of South Africa, around the 17th and 18th century. They were also known as Hottentots before Europeans arrived into their lands where they lived as close-knit families. They are a racially and culturally mixed people

[4] Stow, G.W. 1905. The native races of South Africa. A history of the intrusion of the Hottentots and Bantu into the hunting grounds of the Bushmen, the aborigines of the country. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd.
[5] Cavazzi, G.A. & Labat, J-B. 1732. Historique de L'Ethiopie Occidentale. Tome II. Paris: Charles-Jean-Baptiste.
[6] Giaques = Griqua(s): Giaques→ [G(r)i(a)][-qua(s)]/[-que(s)] and where the difference between the suffixes [-qua(s)] and [-que(s)], meaning *people*, is a recorded difference between southern and northern Khoe language groups. In addition to Khoe language group difference, difference in tribal name recording is also consequent to the varying languages of European recorders. The standardisation of tribal names started only around the 1850s (and is the subject of inquiry in many cases related to the reconstruction of past histories).
[7] Van Ryneveld, K. (ArchaeoMaps). 2023b. Heritage management: KhoiSan history and heritage – the Griquas (Khoe).
[8] https://www.plett-tourism.co.za/we-were-following-a-prophecy/ (Accessed: April 2023).

who are primarily descended from the intermarriages and sexual relations between European colonist men and primarily Khoikhoi [Khoe] slaves[9].

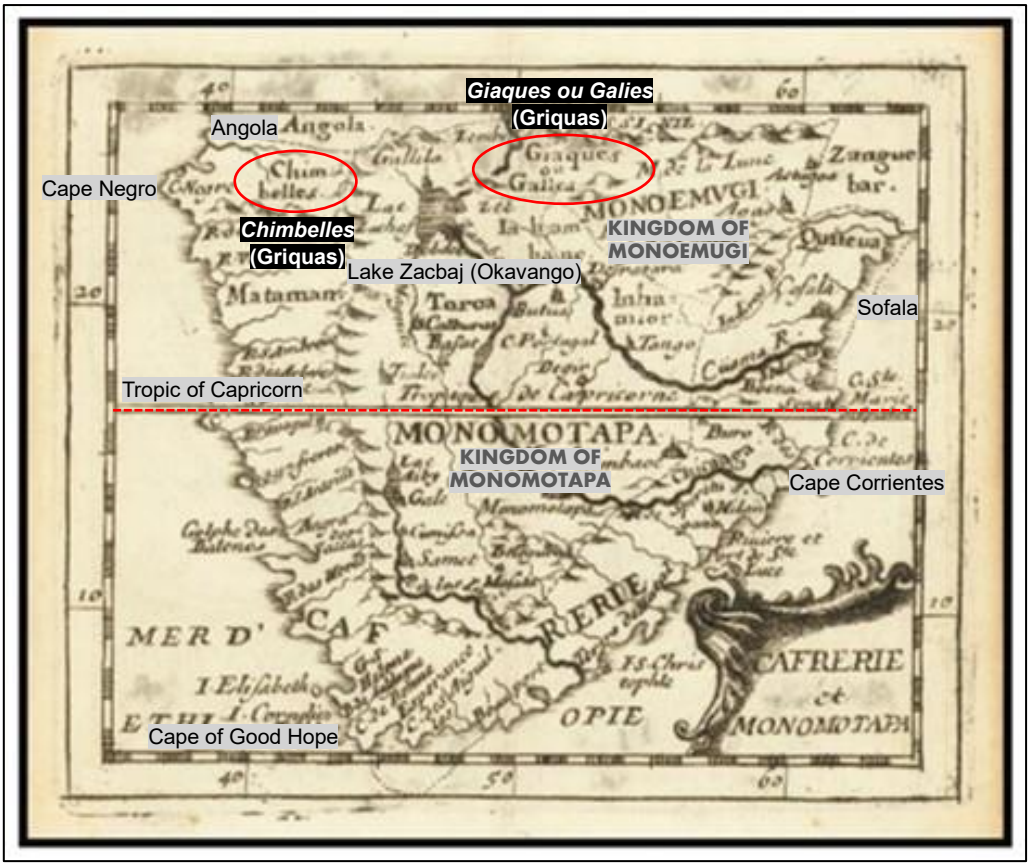
The Griqua people vaguely became aware of a group identity around 1800 when a group of migrant farmers of mostly Khoi [Khoe], but also European and slave descent, searching for land of their own, settled at Klaarwater north of the Gariep River. On their long trek from the south-western Cape they had passing contact with the Grigriqua or Chariguriqua Khoi clan but they called themselves bastards. However, the Rev John Campbell, a missionary who worked among them, thought the name was offensive to an English ear and persuaded them to adopt the name Griqua and rename their settlement Griquatown[10].

Aside from the invasion of the *Giaques*/Griqua(s) homeland and the subjugation of a significant section of them by Zimbo, Cavazzi and Labat[11] also refer to the scattering and displacement of many Griqua(s) consequent to the event. According to Cavazzi and Labat, the *Giaques*/Griqua(s) had a number of tribal names, including *Giakafi* or *Engagiaghi*—both names being synonyms and referring to the same people of their Congolean homeland. They were also known as the *Aineeki*. The Italians called them *Giaghi* or *Giaki*, and the Portuguese called them *Gaghas*. In flight they were renamed *Nft-di*, *Ngindi*, and *Chiambagali*. The fact that they were renamed in flight implies that a significant number of them had fled Zimbo's invasion, extermination or subjugation, and brutal rule.

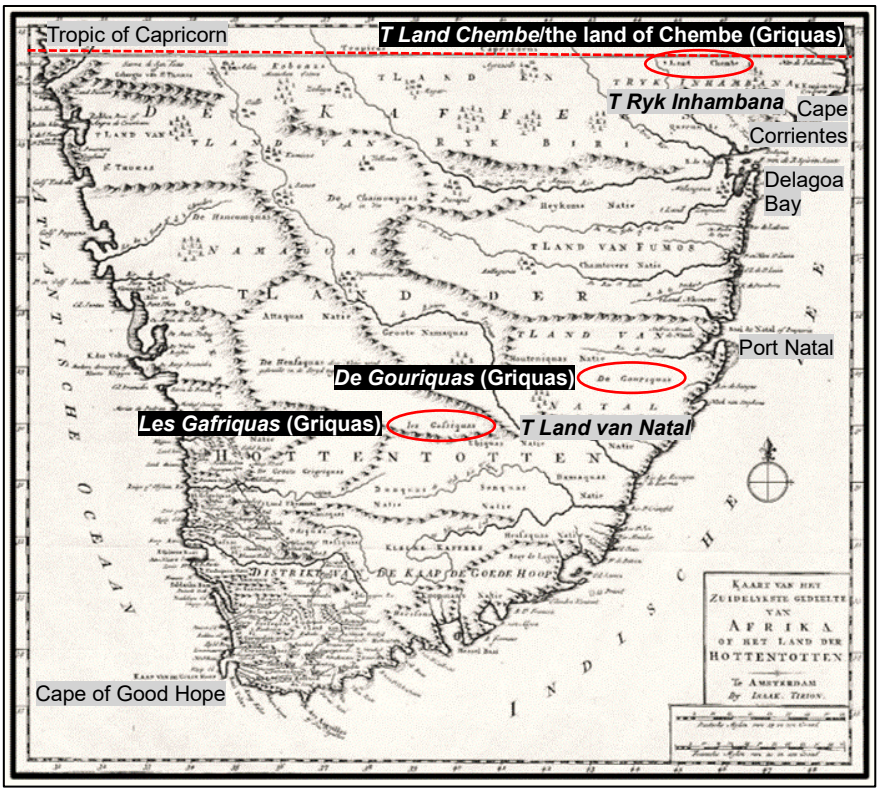
Cavazzi and Labat's record of the *Giaques*/Griqua(s) scattering and displacement is somewhat traceable. Should the middle of the latter part of the 1491–1592 range for Zimbo's invasion of their homeland be taken to work from, i.e. roughly 1575, then Pierre du Val, on his circa 1663 map titled *Cafrerie et Monomotapa*, records a large section of them north-east of *Lake Zacbaj* (the Okavango) and complete in the western regions of the *Kingdom of Monoemugi* as the *Giaques ou Galies*. It is unknown if this is a displaced *Giaques*/Griqua(s) residing consequent to the invasion or a south-western extremity/station of them who happened to have been spared Zimbo's devastation. Either way, it is evident that in circa 1663, approximately 88 years after Zimbo's invasion, the *Giaques*/Griqua(s) was still a prominent tribe—reasonably, numerically as well as socio-politically—on the cultural landscape. Moreover, if *Chimbelles* is considered a fair corruption of *Chiambagali*, then a "renamed" smaller scattered section of the Griqua(s) is also recorded west of *Lake Zacbaj*/the Okavango, just inland from Cape Negro.

Some 67 years after Du Val's map and about 155 years after Zimbo's invasion of their homeland, Isaak Tirion, circa 1730, on his map titled, *Kaart van het Afrika of het Land der Hottentotten*, documents a significant section of the *De Gouriqua* (Griquas) then occupying *T Land van Natal* (the land of Natal). Inland and slightly south-westward of the Griqua(s) of Natal, across the Drakensberg mountains, a smaller section of *Les Gafriquas* (Griquas) also resided. In addition to these two Griqua(s) residings, and should *Chembe* be considered a fair corruption of *Chiambagali*, then a fairly significant "renamed" scattered section of them was occupying the region just north of *T Ryk Inhambana* (the kingdom of Inhambana), nearer Cape Corrientes, and with this residing at once designated *T Land Chembe* (the land of Chembe).

[9] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Griqua_people (Accessed: April 2023).
[10] https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/rsa/griqualand.htm (Accessed: April 2023).
[11] Cavazzi & Labat (1732).



Map 2: Pierre du Val, *Cafrerie et Monomotapa*, circa 1663
(https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/64847/cafrerie-et-monomotapa-du-val)



Map 3: Isaak Tirion, *Kaart van het Zuidelykste Gedeelte van Afrika of het Land der Hottentotten*, circa 1730
(http://www.tanap.net/content/activities/documents/resolutions_Cape_of_Good_Hope/landkaart.htm)

It is, thus, evident that sections of the *Giaques*/Griqua(s) in fact survived Zimbo's invasion of their Congolean homeland, circa 1575, as reported by Cavazzi and Labat's[12] subjugated and incorporated *Giaques Cassange* informants, Angola. They also noticed that the settlement pattern—or camp layout—of the *Giaques Cassange* was notably different from that of the majority Muzimba/Chilomba and emphasised the semblance between the seven-post camp arrangement of the *Giaques Cassange* and that of the Roman model, arranged according to the functions of the seven principal camp officers or chiefs.

The *Giaques Cassange*'s camp layout centred around a central post that housed the court, the chief—or "prince" (also sometimes referred to as the "king")—of the kraal's residences (including that of his wives, his servants, his slaves, etc.), as well as accommodation units for his six principal chiefs, for use during the course of official duties and when the camp was under attack. The central post is described as labyrinthian in layout, and it was surrounded with a double wooden and defensive thorn fence. The second post was that of the *Golambole/Muta-Aita/Muta-a-Vlongo*—the second most important chief, or Lieutenant General and Captain of the Guards, who was not only in charge of the kraal's army troops but also led the vanguard. The third post was commanded by the *Tendala*, the leader of the *Icoqua*, or rear-guard, who had military related juridical powers. The fourth post, situated east of the central post, was that of the *Mani-Lumbo/Mu-tunda*—the Superintendent and Chief Engineer, or the chief of camps, and in charge of camp locality identification and construction. The fifth post was located west of the central post and was commanded by a trusted officer who executed secret commissions. The sixth post was commanded by an *Illunda* (inferred to mean officer), or *Zuicumba*—the Captain of the Baggage. He was under the direct command of the Lieutenant General of the vanguard and was responsible for the weaponry. The seventh post was that of another *Illunda,* the grand master of the chief ("prince") of the kraal's' wardrobe, thus, a type of personal assistant to the chief of the camp/kraal. The second to seventh posts did not have defensive thorn fences but were encamped with single palisade-like wooden pole fences that were manufactured in sections and then erected[13].

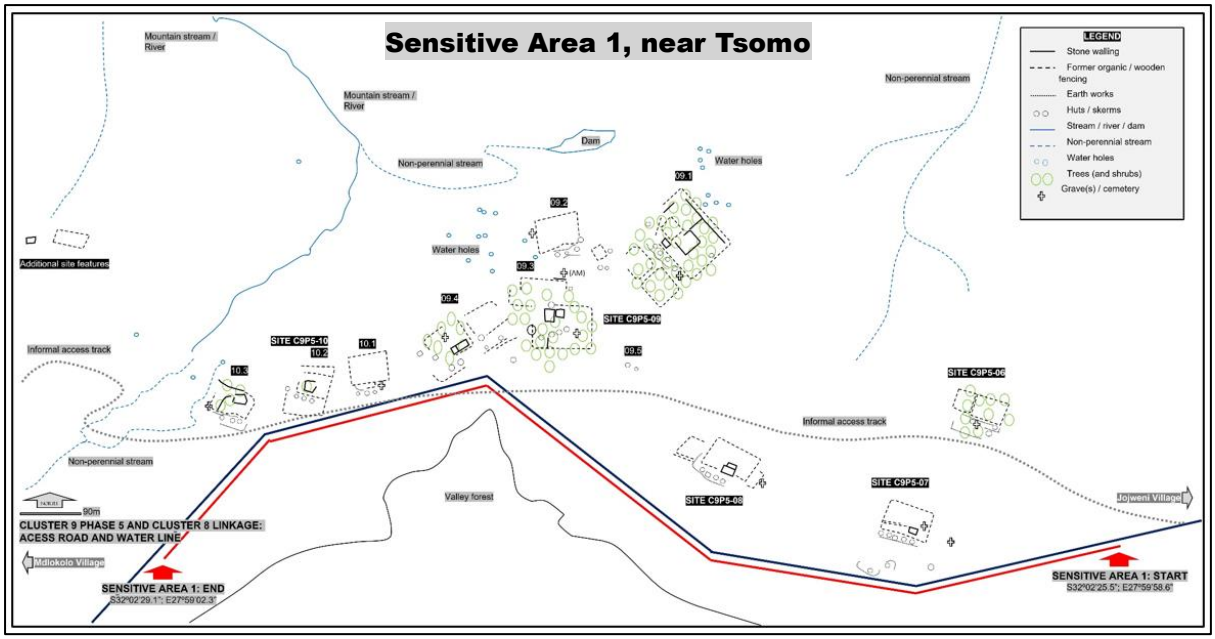
With cognisance to the absence of reported Khoe sites, and by implication recorded settlement patterns across eastern southern Africa (most notably between Cape Corrientes and the southern foothills of the Drakensberg mountains), the striking similarity between the *Giaques Cassange* camp layout, as described by Cavazzi and Labat[14], and the Sensitive Area 1[15] settlement pattern, near Tsomo, cannot be disregarded. The more extensive double fenced labyrinthian central camps, at Sensitive Area 1 being Site C9P5-09 (in specific at C9P5-09.1), surrounded by single fenced complementary camps, although only four/five such camps are present at Sensitive Area 1 (Sites C9P5-06; C9P5-07; C9P5-08; C9P5-09.1–C9P5-09.4[?]; and C9P5-10.1–C9P5.10.3) and not six as recorded among the *Giaques Cassange*, are central to the classification of Sensitive Area 1 as a Griqua–Khoe site. The more numerous residential remains and a notable central family cemetery at Site C9P5-09 (C9P5-09.3) may well attest to additional in-camp housing for wives and servants/subjects of the chief of the Sensitive Area 1 camp/kraal or "village", and not excluding accommodation units for his principal chiefs. Not only larger rectangular camp/kraal enclosures but also livestock pathways or *drives*—identifiable by mound remains only—at Sensitive Area 1 attest to the use of organic/wooden palisade-like fences, most likely manufactured in sections and then erected as described by Cavazzi and Labat.

Stone kraals, present at Sensitive Area 1 but unmentioned in relation to the *Giaques Cassange* camp layout comprise the most significant difference—however, it must be remembered that the *Giaques Cassange* was subjugated into a cannibalistic lifeway under Zimbo's (and Tem-ban-Dumba II's) rule[16], while the occupants of Sensitive Area 1 practised a self-sustainable pastoralist/herder economy. Their self-sustainable pastoralist economy is directly tied to the presence of waterholes at Sensitive Area 1 (to

[12] Cavazzi & Labat (1732).
[13] Cavazzi & Labat (1732).
[14] Cavazzi & Labat (1732).
[15] Van Ryneveld (2023a).
[16] Cavazzi & Labat (1732); Van Ryneveld (2023b).

provide water for their livestock); but with waterholes not mentioned by Cavazzi and Labat in relation to the *Giaques Cassange* camp layout, reasonably, because the *Giaques Cassange*'s subjugation went hand-in-hand with the loss of their traditional pastoralist lifestyle.

With reference to some obvious broad similarities—and differences—between the settlement patterns at Sensitive Area 1 and that of the *Giaques Cassange* conjoint with Tirion's recorded *De Gouriqua* (Griqua) residing in Natal, circa 1730, Sensitive Area 1 is best classed as a Griqua(s) settlement/"village" or camp site. It is fair to reason that some Griqua-Khoe fled Natal during the *difaqane* (together with abaMbo tribal/clan scatters) and upon the granting of refuge by Hintsa in 1818, settled as a minority at Sensitive Area 1 among a majority abaMbo–amaMfengu group.



Map 4: Sketch plan of Sensitive Area 1, near Tsomo (Van Ryneveld 2023a)

Two graves, Site C9P5-08
Stone kraal remains, Site C9P5-09
Stone kraal remains, Site C9P5-10
Cemetery graves, Site C9P5-09
Waterhole, Site C9P5-09
Stone kraal remains, Site C9P5-07
Sensitive Area 1, near Tsomo
Hut mound with stone foundations, Site C9P5-06
Hut mound remains, Site C9P5-10
Stone kraal entrance, Site C9P5-09

Plate 1: Sensitive Area 1, near Tsomo (Van Ryneveld 2023a)

2. Introductory notes on the amaMfengu

My 2023 report on *Sensitive Area 1*[17] also commented briefly on the amaMfengu, mainly for purposes of context to the Sensitive Area 1 site. Bikitsha[18] traces the history of the amaMfengu—meaning "wanderers", thus, similar in meaning to *immigrants* or *outlanders*—so named by Hintsa in 1818, back to a *Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo* culture cluster with their collective fifteenth century history at a homeland, Embo/eMbo, further north, argued in the rough vicinity of the Great Lakes and from where their southward migration started. For some time, and it is unknown for how long, they resided in the east of the country, reasonably inferred among the peoples historically simply known as the *east-coast tribes*[19], being the greater Zulu-Nguni cluster of Iron Age peoples, and with their residency confirmed in the years before the outbreak of the *difaqane*, circa 1815, in Natal. The amaMfengu—or "wanderers"—who thus arrived from Natal in Gcalekaland in 1818 were dominated by the Zizi, Hlubi, Bhele, and Ntlangwini[20].

After the first British annexation of the Cape in 1795, but more so after their second annexation in 1806, missionaries played an ever-more important role on the Cape cultural landscape. A close relationship (albeit not without problems) was maintained between the British Cape government and the missionaries, while a complex Cape government–missionary–Xhosa–Mfengu situation prevailed on the frontier. When friction rose between the Xhosa and the Mfengu, many amaMfengu, in 1835, crossed the Great Kei River under Cape government and missionary protection for resettlement in the Peddie area—known as the *Peddie–Ngqushwa movement*. The movement is directly associated with the 1835 *Mfengu Vows*, a basic four-tiered vow during which they committed to be faithful to God, to educate their children, to support their missionaries, and to respect the Cape government. Following the *Peddie–Ngqushwa movement* and the *Mfengu Vows*, or the Mfengu's official siding with the British in their ongoing campaigns against the Xhosa (the Frontier/Xhosa wars), land conquered from the Xhosa was occasionally afforded the amaMfengu as renumeration for labour and military services rendered—a customary British/Cape colonial practice at the time[21].

In accordance with particulars of the Cape government agreement, the amaMfengu was further dispersed throughout the colony, initially mainly southward, to Grahamstown (Makhanda), Port Elizabeth (Gqeberha), and the Tsitsikamma region. In 1896 a section of them was even permanently relocated and granted land in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) following military services rendered to Cecil John Rhodes[22] in his quelling of Mzilikazi's[23] successor, Lobengula's[24] Ndebele/Matabele rising. (Note that the Bhele section of the amaMfengu is a scattered section of the Ndebele/Matabele consequent to *difaqane* dispersal).

However, it is the 1865 Cape government establishment of the *Transkeian Territories* and the associated *Fingoland* resettlement programme that witnessed the greatest Mfengu relocation back to the general area(s) originally granted them by Hintsa, in cases much against amaMfengu will and forcibly so (and associated with complex missionary–Xhosa/Mfengu relations). Soon after resettlement in *Fingoland*, amaMfengu allegiance to the Cape government started to crumble. Following the Ninth Frontier/Xhosa War (1877–1879), a war not inseparable from (renewed) Xhosa–Mfengu tensions and the Cape's military response thereto[25], resettled amaMfengu, collectively, rekindled their relationship with the Xhosa[26]. After the Ninth Frontier/Xhosa War—with victory to the British/Cape government—the Mfengu also

[17] Van Ryneveld (2023a).
[18] Bikitsha (2019).
[19] Theal, G.M. 1898. Records of south-eastern Africa—collected in various libraries and archive departments in Europe. Vol II. London: William Clowes & Sons, Ltd.
[20] Bikitsha (2019).
[21] Bikitsha (2019); https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fengu_people (Accessed: August 2024).
[22] Cecil John Rhodes (1853–1902).
[23] Mzilikazi Khumalo (circa 1790–1868).
[24] Lobengula Khumalo (circa 1835–1894).
[25] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xhosa_Wars (Accessed: August 2024).
[26] Bikitsha (2019).

sided decisively with the Xhosa in support of the baSotho during the Basotho Gun War of 1880–1881[27], when the baSotho rose against a government programme for a *gun free* Lesotho—the first official proposal and rising of sort in southern Africa—and with Xhosa (and Mfengu) support vested in the prediction that should government endeavours succeed in Lesotho, a *gun free* Transkei would be their next objective.

Map 5: Map of the *Transkeian Territories*, circa 1879
(https://digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za/islandora/object/islandora:25087/datastream/OBJ/view)

Note that East-Griqualand, *Transkeian Territories*, as indicated on Map 5, bears no reference to the *De Gouriqua* (or Griqua) of Natal, as recorded by Tirion, circa 1730. East-Griqualand was a short-lived *autonomous* region, 1861–1879, established at the recommendation of British advisors and the Cape government to address Griqua concerns at Griquatown (Northern Cape) and Phillipolis (Free State)—and where *Griqua* refers only to the section of the Griqua(s) thus "named" in 1813 by the Rev Campbell of the London Missionary Society (LMS) and acknowledged by the British/Cape government(s) and the LMS:

> Griqualand East [East-Griqualand], historical region of South Africa that now lies within interior southwestern KwaZulu-Natal province and adjacent areas of [the] Eastern [Cape] province. In 1861 Adam Kok III, the chief of the Griqua people (a group of mixed white and KhoeKhoe [Khoe] ancestry), led his people from what had become the Orange Free State to Griqualand East after many had been forced to sell their lands to white trekkers. The British hoped the Griquas would be a buffer there between African peoples and white settlers. The influence of European law increased in the area until 1879 [when the Ninth Frontier/Xhosa War against Sarhili[28] of the Gcaleka, the son of Hintsa, and the last of the independent Xhosa chiefs was concluded], when Griqualand East was formally annexed to the Cape Colony and Griquas were once again forced to sell their land to white settlers. Many of the demoralized Griqua eventually resettled north of Cape Town[29]. [Others stayed in the Kokstad area, capital of East-Griqualand, while yet others

[27] https://www.britannica.com/event/Gun-War (Accessed: August 2024).
[28] Sarhili kaHintsa (circa 1810–1892).
[29] https://www.britannica.com/place/Griqualand-East (Accessed: August 2024).

settled southward in the region, many moved to the greater Port Elizabeth/Gqeberha region and a large section of them is still residing in the Tsitsikamma.]

Imperialist/neo-Imperialist histories also plague general amaMfengu heritage. Timothy Stapleton denies their claimed northern origin and their arrival as refugees in Gcalekaland during the *difaqane*, instead arguing them as a *pseudo-ethnicity* constructed by colonial authorities:

> [T]he Fingo [Mfengu] people of South Africa's eastern Cape can be described as a pseudo-ethnicity because their distinct group identity was both created and manipulated by nineteenth-century colonial authorities. Despite their ideological differences, the various schools of South African history have perpetuated the belief that the Fingo originated from the remnants of several chiefdoms which had fled Natal in the 1820s in order to avoid the ravages of the "Mfecane" [*difaqane*] (or crushing) caused by Shaka's expansionist Zulu kingdom […].
>
> [T]he Cape-Xhosa War of 1835 was actually a massive colonial campaign of land and labour seizure against neighbouring, independent Xhosa chiefdoms. Xhosa prisoners and collaborators who were brought into the Cape Colony as workers on settler farms were labelled as Fingoes by British officials who did not want their superiors in London to discover the real nature of the conflict. Consequently, the myth of a distinct Fingo ethnicity—separate from the Xhosa—was created and forced labour was disguised ironically as humanitarian emancipation […].
>
> The name Fingo itself lies at the heart of this controversy. Most of the orthodox histories of these people claim that their original name was Mfengu from the verb 'ukumfenguza' which means to seek work. This is supposedly what the Fingo refugees from Natal said to the Gcaleka Xhosa when they entered their territory. In turn, Mfengu was eventually anglicised by European missionaries and became Fingo. However, Webster maintains that Fingo was the original name coined by missionaries and colonial officials, and points out that it is a Latin word which means "to form or alter with the intention of untruth". Interestingly, Fingo is described by early Zulu/Xhosa dictionaries as meaning "to force", and a recent oral informant claims that "the name Mfengu comes from umfenguza which means migrant labour, that is when we met the British settlers". Webster continues to state that the term Mfengu was developed later as an Africanised version of Fingo and popularised in the 1950s by white anthropologists working for the South African government. Currently, "Mfengu" is used when communicating in formal Xhosa and "Fingo" is employed when conversing in English[30].

Stapleton's *history*, most obviously, falls short of explaining why Mfengu tribal and clan composition do not reflect that of the Xhosa, which it should if they are *Xhosa prisoners and collaborators* who were brought to the colony for labour purposes. Instead, Mfengu tribal and clan composition reflects that of the Natal tribes and, thus, supports the Xhosa–Mfengu version of their history, as relayed by Bikitsha[31], namely that the Mfengu arrived in Gcalekaland in 1818 as refugees from Natal. The case of the Bhele has been touched on; the Bhele of the amaMfengu is a (scattered) section of the Ndebele/Matabele and the Hlubi section is, likewise, a (scattered) section of the Hlubi of KwaZulu-Natal—who was, in turn, incorporated into the Zulu. Because of obvious discrepancies in Imperialist/neo-Imperialist versions of history, it is necessary to further explore the Mfengu's claimed northern past as a *Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo* culture cluster people.

[30] Stapleton, T.J. 1996. The expansion of a pseudo-ethnicity in the Eastern Cape: Reconsidering the Fingo "exodus" of 1865. The International Journal of African Historical Studies 29(2): 233–235.
[31] Bikitsha (2019).

3. Embo/eMbo, the Mbo and abaMbo–amaMfengu homeland

After submission of my *Sensitive Area 1*[32] report and following a contact session with the abaMbo (from the Gauteng region, if memory serves me right), AM-M, during an informal conversation about the session, voiced her suspicion that Embo/eMbo—the abaMbo homeland—was situated further north in the Burundi–Rwanda area. AM-M's speculated Burundi–Rwanda eMbo locality is vested in her interest in the more sentient aspects—oral history, living heritage, and traditional spiritual and medicinal customs—of Iron Age cultures. Albeit from a different heritage viewpoint, her suspected Burundi–Rwanda eMbo locality is not contrary to Bikitsha's[33] vague description of a *northern, Great Lakes homeland* of the abaMbo–amaMfengu of the Eastern Cape. Moreover, the possibility that a more defined northern eMbo homeland may further connect the far-reaching link—established by means of basic linguistic inquiry—between the abaMbo–amaMfengu and the Ovambo of Namibia and Angola, alluded to in my report, certainly intrigued.

Wilhelm Bleek, German linguist, and well known for his collaborative work with Lucy Lloyd in the compilation of the KhoiSan |Xam and !Kun texts, described the basic difference between KhoiSan and Ntu (Bantu/Ba'Ntu) languages as suffix-pronominal vs prefix-pronominal languages[34]. This linguistic difference is easily explained at the hand of tribal names, where (original/ancestral) tribal names customarily reflect the name of the founder of the tribe. In the case of the suffix-pronominal KhoiSan languages, and with an emphasis on Khoe tribal names for purposes here, the system is explained as a basic [root name]–[-suffix] system, and where the suffixes [-qua(s)]/[-na(s)] means *people*:

- [Chobo][**-qua(s)**]/[**-na(s)**] → Choboqua(s)/Chobona(s) → The Chobo people/tribe, or the people of Chobo.
- [Nama][**-qua(s)**]/[**-na(s)**] → Namaqua(s)/Namana(s) → The Nama people/tribe, or the people of Nama.
- [Gri][**-qua(s)**]/[**-na(s)**] → Griqua(s)/Grina(s) → The Gri people/tribe, or the people of Gri.

However, in the case of the prefix-pronominal Ntu languages of the Iron Age/Bantu peoples of southern Africa the system is reversed and explained as a basic [prefix-]–[root name] system, where the prefixes [ama-]/[aba-], etc. means *people*:

- [**ama-**][Xhosa] → AmaXhosa/amaXhosa → the Xhosa people/tribe, or the people of uXhosa.
- [**ama-**][Zulu] → AmaZulu/amaZulu → the Zulu people/tribe, or the people of uZulu.
- [**aba-**][Mbo] → AbaMbo/abaMbo → the Mbo people/tribe, or the people of uMbo.

Bleek[35] classed the Ntu languages of sub-Saharan Africa into four broad branches:

1. A south-eastern branch, including the Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele, and Tswana languages, as well as the Tekega dialects.
2. A middle branch.
3. A north-western branch.
4. And an unknown branch of Ntu languages.

And where it is the first branch that concerns the Mbo and abaMbo–amaMfengu debate—or the amaMfengu described by Bikitsha[36] as a *Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo* culture cluster. The Bhele section of the amaMfengu is a scattered section of the Ndebele/Matabele consequent to *difaqane* dispersal, and isiNdebele (both the northern and southern variants thereof) is a southern Nguni language, like isiZulu and isiXhosa. No linguistic specific information is available for the Zizi or Ntlangwini languages, but

[32] Van Ryneveld (2023a).
[33] Bikitsha (2019).
[34] Bleek, W.H.I. 1862. A comparative grammar of South African languages. Part I. Phonology. London: Trübner & Co.
[35] Bleek (1862).
[36] Bikitsha (2019).

Hlubi is classed as a Tekega dialect[37]. Should it, therefore, be inferred that the Mfengu *Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo* culture cluster is a primarily Tekega dialect group, then difference in original broader tribal/clan designation among them is accordingly inferred to reflect dialect rather than linguistic variance within the Tekega dialect group according to the prefix-pronominal Ntu [prefix-]–[root name] language system, and where it is the root name that is of importance with reference to shared tribal ancestry while the prefix mainly designates dialect variance:

- [mu-][**Mbo**] → MuMbo/muMbo/Mumbo → Mbo.
- [abe-][**Mbi**] → [abe-][Mb~~i~~(o)] → AbeMbo/abeMbo/Abembo → Mbo.
- [aba-][**Mbo**] → AbaMbo/abaMbo/Abambo → Mbo.

Bikitsha's *Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo* culture cluster of the amaMfengu tribes is, thus, simplified as the abaMbo–amaMfengu, a primarily Tekega dialect group of the south-eastern branch of Ntu languages, with evident dialect difference among them, but with their language (including dialect variants thereof) mutually understandable by Nguni speakers, including isiZulu and isiXhosa speakers. They are also linguistically (and ancestrally) linked to the Ovambo of Namibia and Angola by the same argument:

- [aba-][**Mbo**] → AbaMbo/abaMbo/Abambo → Mbo.
- [ova-][**Mbo**] → OvaMbo/ovaMbo/Ovambo → Mbo.

The MuMbo/muMbo/Mumbo, AbeMbo/abeMbo/Abembo, AbaMbo/abaMbo/Abambo, and the OvaMbo/ovaMbo/Ovambo are, thus, all Mbo people of the greater Tekega dialect group who speak different variants, or dialects, of the same (original/ancestral) Mbo language. As the abaMbo–amaMfengu—or the Mbo of the Mfengu—hold onto an eMbo homeland further north in their histories, it is only reasonable to assume that the Ovambo may also have traditions of a distant eMbo homeland.

[37] Mntungwa, L. 2016. The history of the Hlubi nation (https://www.vivmag.co.za/archives/3395).

4. Tracing the Embo/eMbo homeland

Bikitsha introduces the *Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo* culture cluster of the amaMfengu—or the abaMbo–amaMfengu—who arrived from Natal in Gcalekaland in 1818, when they were afforded refuge by Hintsa, as a people who hold within their history the memory of an Embo/eMbo homeland further north[38]. Theal[39], in his records on the Xhosa's southward migration states:

> They [the Xhosa, including the Xhosa—the House of Phalo, or the Gcaleka and Rharhabe Xhosa—the Thembu, and the Pondo] had scattered themselves thinly along the coast as far south as the mouth of the Umzimvubu river [at Port St. John's, Eastern Cape] when, towards the close of the sixteenth century their numbers were greatly increased, and an impetus was given to the movement southward by an irruption from the far distant north-west into the lower valley of the Zambesi of devastating bands that pillaged and destroyed all the weaker clans in their line of march. When other food could not be procured, these invaders resorted to cannibalism, and at length became so accustomed to eat human flesh that they consumed it as an ordinary article of diet. One of the largest of these bands was termed the Amazimba [amaZimba/muZimba], and to this day the word *zim* with the southern Bantu denotes a cannibal. It enters largely into folklore tales, and is commonly used to frighten disobedient children. This band drove before it a horde of fugitives composed of the remnants of numberless tribes plundered and partly destroyed on the way from the Atlantic shore, and that collectively was known as the Abambo [abaMbo].
>
> Just as with the Mantati horde and the Amangwane two centuries and a quarter later, the Abambo and the Amazimba were partly destroyed by starvation and partly by incessant war, but some remnants forced their way in murderous marches through the earlier settlements to distant localities, where they remained and built permanent kraals. A considerable remnant of the Abambo horde in this manner cut its way through the western part of the territory occupied by the Makaranga, and finally settled in the valley of the Tugela [northern Natal] and in the territory farther south. On its march it had incorporated a large number of Karanga girls, and probably of boys also, so that at least one section of it was largely affected by this mixture of blood. To the present day this section—the Amazizi [amaZizi/Zizi]—show abundant signs of Karanga ancestry, and are as a rule more intelligent than any of their neighbours. By other tribes they were even often termed Amalanga on this account. The occupation of Natal by the Abambo compelled the pioneers of their family to move farther along the coast, and very likely these were joined by many little offshoots from the main body. The Xosas [Xhosas], Thembus, and Pondos still term Natal Embo [eMbo], that is the country of the Abambo.
>
> Some time after its settlement in Natal the horde broke up into many communities independent of each other, between which rivalries and feuds broke out just as everywhere else among the Bantu. These new tribes were probably the remnants of older ones that had been broken up and pressed into the horde on its long journey across the continent, but which still retained their former titles and regarded their separate existence as a matter of common usage and right.
>
> The Portuguese, who occupied stations at Sofala, Sena, and Tete at this time, give no direct information upon the occupation of Natal by the Abambo. Very likely they knew nothing of what was going on at a distance from their forts, just as the Cape government and the colonists knew nothing at the time of the career of the Mantati horde or of Sotshangana[40] or Moselekatse[41]. Or if rumours of terrible destruction being caused inland by a horde of ferocious

[38] Bikitsha (2019).
[39] Theal, G.M. 1910. The yellow and dark-skinned people of Africa south of the Zambesi. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co, Ltd. Pp 162–164.
[40] Soshangana Nxumalo/KaGasa Zikode (circa 1780–1858) (chief/king of the Gaza Empire).
[41] Mzilikazi Khumalo (circa 1790–1869).

> invaders ever reached them [the Portuguese], they were too much taken up with their own disasters to pay attention to them. Even of the section which they termed the Cabires, that gave them much trouble, they placed very little information on record. It is from them, however, that we learn that in 1570 the Abambo horde made its first appearance on the northern bank of the Zambezi above Tete, that there were then very few Bantu inhabitants south of the Umvolosi river [just south of the St Lucia River in northern KwaZulu-Natal], and that after 1600 Natal had a considerable population. The traditions of all the tribes that they came down from the north may not count for much, but they cannot be altogether passed over. A much stronger proof of the recent occupation by Bantu of the country south of the Sabi river is the fact that the Arabs never attempted to form a station there. They were among the very keenest traders in the world, but south of the Sabi were only *Wakwak* or Bushmen [San/KhoiSan], so nothing was to be bought or sold there. In 1505 the Portuguese wrested Sofala from them, but they never thought of sending a trading party south of Delagoa Bay before the interruption of the Abambo, and then the days of their enterprise and vigour were gone forever.

Theal's[42] recounting of the history is invaluable for various reasons. It confirms the presence of the abaMbo in Natal, most likely from 1600 onwards when the population of Natal is described as notably more populous than before and where they resided mainly northward of their then southern (Eastern Cape) neighbours, the Xhosa. The Xhosa, at the time, knew their northern abaMbo neighbours' land in Natal as Embo/eMbo and, thus, supporting the scenario of Bikitsha's[43] Xhosa–Mfengu history before scatters of them arrived in Gcalekaland in 1818 during the early years of the *difaqane*.

It is, furthermore, interesting to note the prevalence of the placename Embo/eMbo, mainly in the greater Durban region of northern Natal, albeit not excluding its lesser use in the Eastern Cape. Among other, Natal boasts an *Embo Traditional Council* as well as two villages named eMbo, while another village, Embo, is located in the Eastern Cape. Re-use of the name Embo/eMbo spells cultural connection and continuation—when the Natal abaMbo cluster of people scattered during the *difaqane* the section of them who fled southward and sought refuge in Gcalekaland—the abaMbo–amaMfengu—brought with them their cultural customs and traditions, and including the placename of their distant northern homeland, Embo/eMbo, that they held dear and had brought with them on their southward march to Natal, and eventually to Gcalekaland/the Eastern Cape. Placenames are a powerful tool in the (re)construction of histories; however, northward of Natal the placename Embo/eMbo rapidly disappears, at least from more recent maps.

Map 6: The prevalence of the placename Embo/eMbo in the greater Durban region, KwaZulu-Natal, and to a lesser extent in the Eastern Cape, *Google Earth (August 2024)*

[42] Theal (1910).
[43] Bikitsha (2019).

Theal[44], moreover, reports on the first Portuguese record of the abaMbo's arrival on the northern bank of the Zambezi River, just north of their Tete station in 1570, and the subsequent invasion of the region from the lower valley of the Zambezi by the cannibalistic muZimba. who drove before them numerous remnant scatters of abaMbo. The history recounted by Theal finds semblance in Cavazzi and Labat's[45] history of the invasion of the *Giaques*/Griqua(s) homeland, albeit from a south-eastern Portuguese perspective.

Cavazzi and Labat[46] recorded the invasion of Zimbo and his muZimbas into the homeland of the *Giaques*/Griqua(s), a history that was recalled with great sadness. According to their *Giaques Cassange* informants, the muZimba assailants attacked in waves of ferocious fierceness and cruelty. In an inhumane manner and with the aid of iron and fire they devastated the land and the *Giaques*/Griqua(s)—and they defiled the survivors. Survivors who agreed to Zimbo's terms were subjugated and incorporated into his cannibalistic troops. He appointed new chiefs—or *calendas*—over them, and renamed them the *Giaques Cassange*. The brutal rule of Zimbo only devastated his subjects further, but in response to their pleas, Zimbo only waged more war.

Zimbo's eyes were set on the eastern Ethiopian lands bounded by the Oriental Sea/Indian Ocean, and Cavazzi and Labat[47] follow his warlike trajectory across the East African region. First his armies attacked the Zaire border lands and then invaded the Zambezi region. When Zimbo's muZimba invaded the Zambezi region of Monoemugi, they devastated the land and waged extermination wars against the abaMbo. Many of the abaMbo fled, but again a section of them was subjugated and incorporated; over them Zimbo appointed a chief, Zuizzuva. Zuizzuva is described as a *brave*, *furious*, and *ferocious* man, very brutal in his ways: after having had devoured the flesh of his enemies, he is said to have used their skulls and bones to decorate the walls of his house and to pave his veranda. His house resembled a tomb/temple, and the bones of his enemies, his idols of worship. The Portuguese challenged Zuizzuva in battle and killed him and many of his troops. Upon hearing the news of Zuizzuva's death, Zimbo sent his troops, who were even more numerous than Zuizzuva's, and they defeated the Portuguese. The Portuguese, including the Captain General of Tete fort as well as the Chaplain of the Order of St Dominic, was tortured and killed in the most brutal ways. Zimbo had the heads of his victims put at the ends of spears as trophies to his victory, and to mock the *Faith and Religion*, dressed in the priestly robes and with the chaplain's chalice in his hands, he paraded his victory throughout the Tete region with his troops.

Zimbo and his troops arrived without resistance at Kilwa (Tanzania), a town inhabited by Moors and Mohammedans. They entered the town with the aid of intelligence of one of the inhabitants, but after they had pillaged the town and enslaved or exterminated its inhabitants, Zimbo had their informant killed too[48].

At the island of Mozambique, held by the Portuguese, the inhabitants resisted Zimbo's advance, but the European fleet that was to come to their aid was wrecked at sea and fortune, once again, favoured Zimbo when he made himself master of the island. Zimbo and his troops stayed at the island for some time, until there was nothing and no one left to eat in the region; when hunger pressed them, Zimbo decided to proceed with his murderous campaign[49].

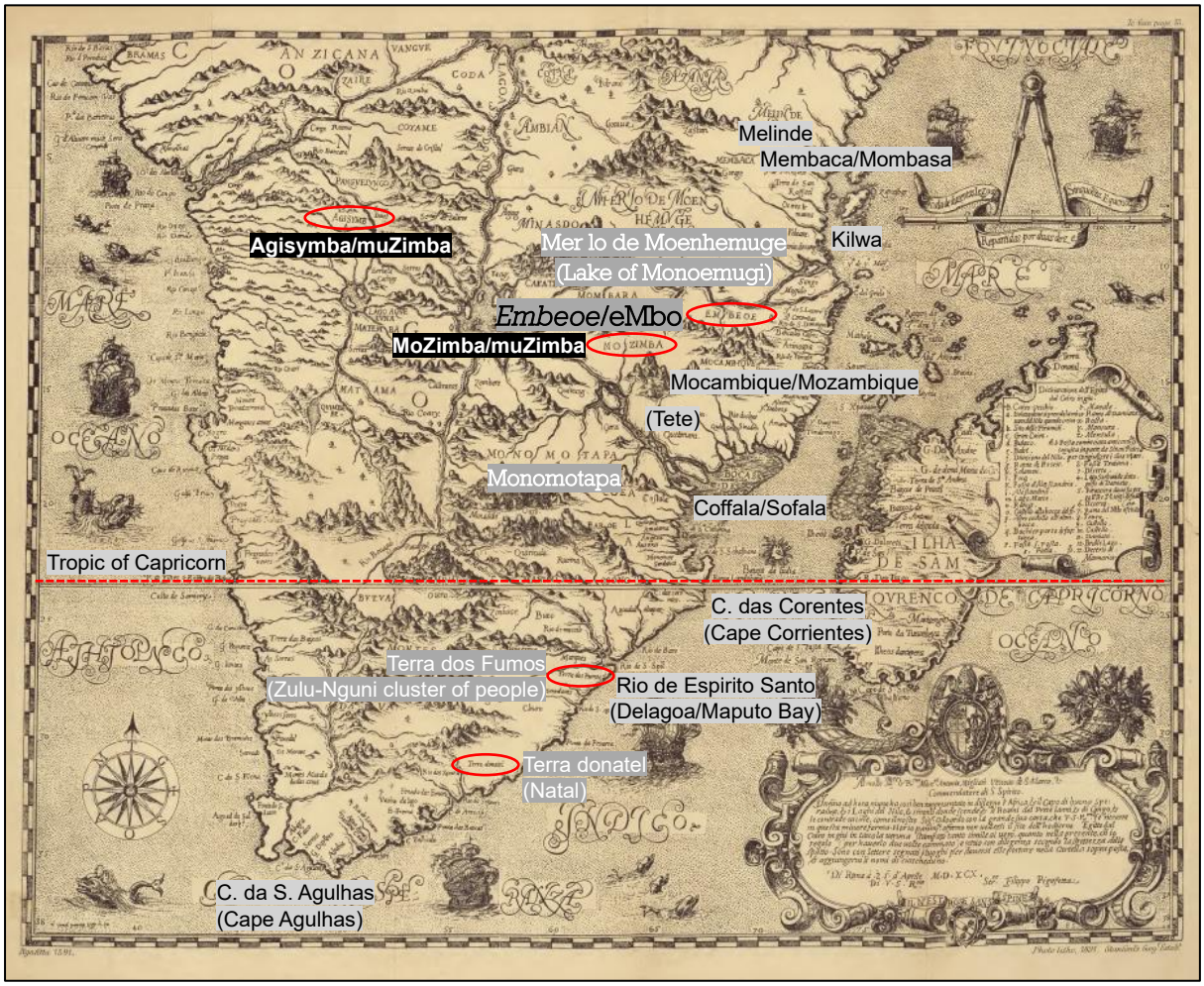
Zimbo set Melinde (Kenya) as the object of this campaign, and on his march northward along the coast devasted the communities on his way. The King of Melinde, however, convinced his subjects that there was no honour or glory in fleeing Zimbo's advance. He reminded them of their past victories and offered to lead the resistance against Zimbo's muZimba. The King of Melinde defeated the muZimba troops in

[44] Theal (1910).
[45] Cavazzi & Labat (1732).
[46] Cavazzi & Labat (1732).
[47] Cavazzi & Labat (1732).
[48] Cavazzi & Labat (1732).
[49] Cavazzi & Labat (1732).

the historic battle—not a single muZimba warrior was spared; no hostages or slaves were taken. The only ones who survived were those who had fled the scythes and swords of the king and his subjects, although Zimbo did plunder significant riches from the town[50].

Zimbo's heavily diminished troops could not return to the places they had already traversed because they feared revenge for the atrocities they had committed against the people. Zimbo then separated his troops into smaller platoons that would make it easier for them to subsist. Zimbo and his platoon—that included the *Giaques Cassange*—took the southern desert road and wandered all the way to the Cape of Good Hope. Finding nothing of value there, he turned back north and marched toward the equator. When he reached the Kunene River in the greater Namibia–Angola border region, he settled with his people, then radically reduced in number[51].

Murray[52] provides quite a detailed account of Zimbo's (and Zuizzuva's) devastation of specifically the Portuguese held territories of Sena and Tete, and follows his offensives to as far north as Mombasa and Melinde—but that for the purpose of this report is not necessary to be repeated. However, his map (untitled), 1891, plots some key locales related to events and including an additional distant northern record of *Embeoe*, or Embo/eMbo.



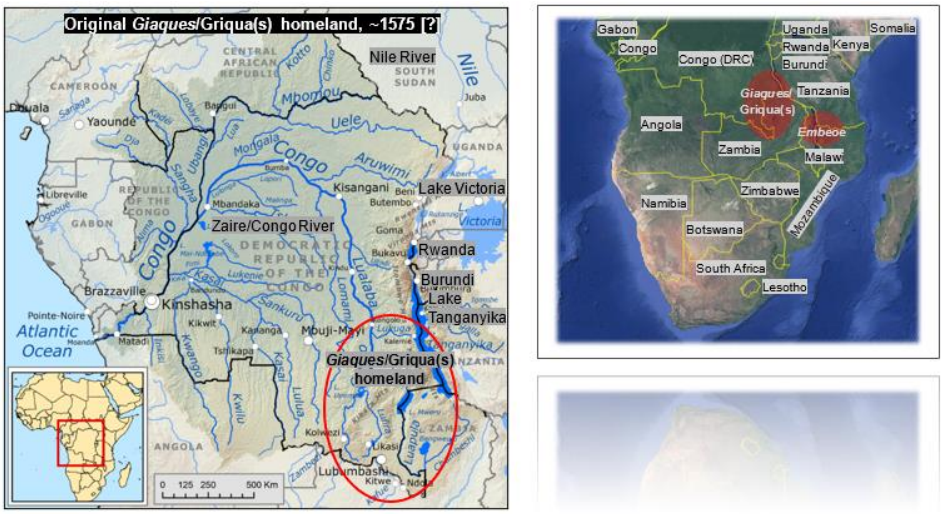
Map 7: Murray's map of central and southern Africa, 1891 (Murray 1891)

[50] Cavazzi & Labat (1732).
[51] Cavazzi & Labat (1732).
[52] Murray, R.W. 1891. South Africa from Arab dominion to British rule. London: Edward Stanford.

Murray's map confirms, at least to a degree, Bikitsha's and AM-M's voiced suspicion of an eMbo homeland further north, albeit not quite in the Great Lakes/Burundi–Rwanda area. Murray's map recording of *Embeoe* (Embo/eMbo) is best described as a Malawi–Tanzania/Mozambique border region. That Monoemugi was a large kingdom is undoubted, but different versions of old maps indicate notably varying boundaries of its territory. In the description of Zimbo's invasion of the abaMbo's Zambezi territory—after which he appointed Zuizzuva as chief over his new subjects—Cavazzi and Labat[53] make pertinent mention of the Zambezi region of Monoemugi, a reference that assumes a scenario of the abaMbo of the Zambezi as a (south-western) section of them, related to a more distant (northern/north-eastern) homeland, perhaps Murray's *Embeoe* (of Monoemugi). However, even Murray's *Embeoe* is situated well south of *Mer lo de Moenhemuge* (Lake of Monoemugi) or the Lakes Victoria–Tanganyika (/Great Lakes) area and by implication including the Burundi–Rwanda region. In the absence of further evidence, I preliminary suggest that the Kingdom of Monoemugi encompassed the Great Lakes/Burundi–Rwanda region, but that the northernmost Embo/eMbo homeland yet known—Murray's *Embeoe*—was situated in an area rather described as the provincial regions of Monoemugi.

During Cavazzi and Labat's[54] consultation with the *Giaques Cassange* regarding the *Giaques*/Griqua(s) origin, they claimed an origin in the *Empire of Monoemugi*, with their homeland described as a land between two rivers—and believed by Cavazzi and Labat to refer to the Nile and Zaire (Congo) rivers. However, they questioned the *Giaques Cassange*'s version of their origin; Cavazzi and Labat were familiar with the Nile River and opined it as very far from Monoemugi. The Zaire River region, though, was unknown to them, but it neighboured Monoemugi and they, therefore, suggested that the *Giaques*/Griqua(s) original homeland may well rather have been situated in the provincial Zaire regions of Monoemugi.

It is interesting that the northernmost identified Embo/eMbo homeland—Murray's *Embeoe*—as well as that of the *Giaques*/Griqua(s) homeland, albeit as yet with a much vaguer locality, are both best described as situated in the provincial regions of Monoemugi, with a southern provincial *Embeoe* and a south-western *Giaques*/Griqua(s) Zaire/Congo River locality. Proximity of these homelands may imply that (sections of) the *Giaques*/Griqua(s) and the abaMbo were familiar with each other before Zimbo's invasions of their lands, circa1575. Familiarity, however, does not imply that sections of them who occupied Natal in the years before some fled to Gcalekaland (1818) necessarily migrated/fled southward together consequent to Zimbo's conquests, but it may spell older intertribal ties that were rekindled in Natal.



Map 8: The inferred general locality of the Giaques/Griqua(s) homeland in the Zaire provincial regions of Monoemugi before Zimbo's invasion of their homeland, circa 1575[55]

[53] Cavazzi & Labat (1732).
[54] Cavazzi & Labat (1732).
[55] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo_River#/media/File:Congobasinmap.png (Accessed: August 2024).

5. The grave of Abee Mdlokolo, Sensitive Area 1 near Tsomo, Eastern Cape

❖ The grave of Abee Mdlokolo

The fairly low presence of graves at Sensitive Area 1 is noteworthy. The low presence of graves may be taken as an indicator of short site-occupation, but the developed nature of the site does not, unconditionally, support short occupation and lifestyle, health, and related longevity need to be considered. Short site occupation may be consistent with amaMfengu history. The amaMfengu—including the minority Griqua–Khoe of Sensitive Area 1—was awarded refuge in Gcalekaland by Hintsa in 1818[56]. In 1835 an estimated 17,000 of them as well as some 22,000 head of cattle left Gcalekaland under Cape government and missionary protection during the *Peddie-Ngqushwa movement* for resettlement in Peddie[57]. It spells not only of a notably short period of stay—17 years, or roughly two-thirds of a 25-year anthropological generation—between the arrival of the *difaqane*-ravaged refugees in Gcalekaland and their departure to Peddie, but also of a fairly wealthy people at the time of their departure with reference to the short timespan during which they accumulated their wealth. In 1865, with the establishment of *Fingoland* many Mfengu who partook in the *Peddie–Ngqushwa movement* were relocated back to the general area(s) originally afforded them by Hintsa[58]. Thus, a 47-year period—or roughly two anthropological generations—between their initial arrival in Gcalekaland and the return of the Mfengu who partook in the *Peddie–Ngqushwa movement* under the Cape government *Fingoland* resettlement programme.

Despite the fairly low presence of graves at Sensitive Area 1, and with graves present at all the camps (Sites C9P5-06 to C9P5-10), varying from singular graves to small family cemeteries and with the cemetery at C9P5-09.3 being notably impressive, it is fair to infer that the Griqua–Khoe of Sensitive Area 1 did not partake in the *Peddie-Ngqushwa movement*—there are too many graves for a 17-year stay. The number (and style) of graves at the site indicate a longer continuous site occupation.

Following the *Fingoland* resettlement programme—and under the Cape government policy of *Christianisation and civilisation* of the native tribes—missionaries started to play an important role on the *Transkeian Territories* cultural landscape. In 1876 the village of Nqamakwe was established, some 20km south-west of Sensitive Area 1, where the Blythswood mission and school was founded between 1873 and 1877 on the same basic concept as that of the Lovedale Mission Institute of the Glasgow Missionary Society (GMS), Alice. Blythswood was larger than originally planned, because of a double financial subscription by the Mfengu as well as monies raised by the Rev Dr James Stewart, Lovedale, in Scotland[59]. The ruined remains of Site C9P5-02, situated about 2km south of the greater Sensitive Area 1 development study site, is inferred to be that of an Anglican mission; although the date of its establishment is unknown, it was most likely only established after Blythswood was founded[60].

It was the Mfengu of the *Peddie-Ngqushwa movement* who had committed to the *Mfengu Vows* in 1835—the amaMfengu who were the object of the *Fingoland* resettlement programme—and who were already Christian or had been extensively exposed to Christianity, who at once supported the *Fingoland* missionaries. The Xhosa and Mfengu who had remained settled across the region were initially sceptical of the new religion. Christianity spread slowly and in wave-like manner among them. In time, however, many of them also converted to Christianity and appreciated the educational advantages of the mission schools.

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[56] Van Ryneveld (2023a).
[57] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fengu_people (Accessed: August 2024).
[58] Bikitsha (2019).
[59] McGregor, T. 2022. Blythswood: A unique South African mission station. (https://owlcation.com/humanities/Blythswood-a-unique-South-African-mission-station).
[60] Van Ryneveld, K. (ArchaeoMaps). 2022. Site Sensitivity Verification (SSV) and Phase 1 Archaeological and Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment (AIA) – Cluster 9 Phase 5 and Cluster 8 Linkage, Water Supply and Access Road, Nxamagele and Catshile, near Tsomo, Chris Hani District Municipality, Eastern Cape.

However, not all were favourably inclined toward the Christianising influences of the missionaries, and potential evidence thereof may still linger. When I recognised the Site C9P5-02 ruins (the inferred Anglican mission remains) on route to and about 2km from the nearest aspect of the development study site, I asked nearby villagers about it. Friendly villagers, seeing that I had an interest in old ruins pointed me to their own ancestral kraals and told me that there are many *old stories* about them and their pasts (project timeframes and focus, however, did not allow me to further pursue these histories), but they refused to talk about the C9P5-02 ruins and said that it was not important/does not belong there. The ruins are evidently related to an aspect of their past that they did not have fond memories of.

The grave of Abee Mdlokolo, situated just outside the Site C9P5-09.3 camp, is the only (confirmed) Christian grave at Sensitive Area 1. It is a dressed grave with a broken inscribed cross-shaped headstone that bears the inscription: "*DIED OCT 2 195[?]0 / ABEE MDLOKOLO / BORN 1866*". Abee Mdlokolo, thus, lived at the time when Christianity was just introduced to the greater region—he was a first-generation Christian in his family by missionary/Christian account. The grave is distinctly set apart from the family cemetery inside the C9P5-09.3 camp, with its graves described as stone cairn, and stone cairn with headstone, and head and footstones demarcations (similar to other traditional graves at Sensitive Area 1).

Plate 2: Graves at the Site C9P5-09.3 family cemetery

Plate 3: The grave of Abee Mdlokolo, situated just outside the C9P5-09.3 camp

Abee Mdlokolo's grave is, therefore, not inferred to be related to the site in the same way as the graves of the C9P5-09.3 camp cemetery. The *separateness* of his grave, set apart from the family cemetery and in its own stone demarcated area, spells of some sort of *hiatus* or *lapse*, either culturally or temporally. It may be that he lived his life largely elsewhere (for labour reasons) but wished his grave to be at his ancestral home. Or it may be telling of the (cultural) times: that he resided at the camp but that the accultured (cultural change through time) influence of the missionaries and Christianity in general resulted in cultural custom being maintained—i.e. as other members of his family he was traditionally buried at his homestead—but that the difference between Christian and non-Christian graves, and the separate keeping of them during early Christian years are at play, a custom that may be detectable at sites well beyond Sensitive Area 1. (An instance of a majority Christian graves to one side of a cemetery and a majority traditional graves to the other side thereof was, for example, identified at a *Coloured* cemetery in Lady Grey[61]). The impact of Christianity and assessment of the accultured influences thereof on the (Xhosa and) Mfengu—as can be determined through changing burial practice and by implication the more detailed recording and study of grave and cemetery sites—remains an understudied subject, albeit central to the history of the Eastern Cape.

[61] Van Ryneveld, K. (ArchaeoMaps). 2024. Phase 1 Archaeological and Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment (AIA) – Construction of the Lady Grey cemetery, Portion of Zagte Valley 32, Senqu Local Municipality, Joe Gqabi District Municipality, Eastern Cape.

Moreover, it is necessary to address/dispel the general perception that headstone, and head and footstone demarcated graves are necessarily Christian graves. While cairn graves, be they stone cairn or stone outlined earth mound/cairn graves are routinely understood as traditional graves (among Iron Age and at least some Stone Age peoples), headstone, and head and footstone demarcated graves are often regarded as Christian graves, while it may well be—at least among certain Khoe, such as the Griqua–Khoe of Sensitive Area 1—a traditional burial practice or an accultured Christian practice but with its roots well predating the Christianising influences of missionary work during British Cape colonial times.

Current academic and popular Griqua history vested in a recent seventeenth/eighteenth century south-western Cape origin of the Griqua[62] conceals rather than reveals history. Should the Griqua(s) be acknowledged as a people with a fifteenth/sixteenth century recorded history further north, as described by Cavazzi and Labat[63] in their record of Zimbo's invasion of the *Giaques*/Griqua(s) homeland, then a more rational investigation into their complex past can be arrived at—and not necessarily excluding the accultured impact of Christianity on grave style. Should a northern Congolean *Giaques*/Griqua(s) homeland be acknowledged, then early Christian history of the Congo is possibly of importance.

The earliest evidence for Christianity in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) dates to the late fifteenth century. In 1491 King João/Nzinga[64] of the Kingdom of Kongo (Congo) converted to Roman Catholicism after contact with Portuguese explorers, when he adopted the Christian name João. His conversion facilitated trade with the Portuguese and increased the status of the kingdom in the eyes of the Europeans. His successor, Afonso I[65], travelled to Europe where he studied religion, and the kingdom adopted a form of Catholicism that was recognised by the Papacy[66]. It is, therefore, not impossible that the *Giaques*/Griqua(s) first came into contact with Christianising influences (that may have affected burial style) while still residing in their Congolean homeland, before the invasion thereof by Zimbo, circa 1575.

That the Christianisation of the Congolese, in general, was not without problems is also attested to in historical records. Zimbo invaded/rose in the region fairly soon after Christianity was declared in the Kingdom of Kongo—within approximately 75 years, or three anthropological generations—and was systematically spreading to neighbouring regions (if for no other reason, then at least for reasons of trade and tribal relations). However, Zimbo's brutal rule and ambition of a kingdom that would spread to all corners of the African continent vastly opposed the principles of Christianity. His disdain for the *Faith and Religion* has already been commented on in the context of his victory over Tete—his wearing of the priestly robes and carrying of the chalice when he paraded his victory through the Tete region. However, it should not be assumed that his disdain was necessarily greater for Christianity than for the Muslim faith, as is well evidenced by his like ruthless capture of Kilwa[67]. Zimbo's wars were not religious wars; his disdain for religion may well have underscored many of his wars, but if so, then it was directed at the spectrum of organised/Abrahamic faiths—and indigenous peoples of no specific or defined faith/spirituality suffered a fate all the same.

Once settled in the Namibia–Angola border region, and under the command of Zimbo's successor, Tem-ban-Dumba II, who continued/revived Zimbo's cannibalistic oppression/rule over her subjects, the Christian faith again became a contentious concern. Dom Salvador, Governor of Angola for Portugal, who, in 1648, had retaken Loanda (Luanda) from the Dutch who had possession of it for seven years, promoted the work of missionaries among the tribes. Dom Salvador soon sent ambassadors to Queen

[62] https://www.plett-tourism.co.za/we-were-following-a-prophecy/; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Griqua_people; https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/rsa/griqualand.htm (Accessed: April 2023).
[63] Cavazzi & Labat (1732).
[64] Nzinga aNkuwu/King João I (circa 1470–1509).
[65] Mvemba aNzinga/King Afonso I (circa 1456–1543).
[66] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christianity_in_the_Democratic_Republic_of_the_Congo (Accessed: August 2024).
[67] Cavazzi & Labat (1732).

Zingha[68] of the kingdoms of Ndongo and Matamba, as well as to the Callonga, the Chilomba, and the *Giaques Cassange* to persuade them to abolish their laws and cruel customs and to adopt new ones that would be given to them by missionaries, or *preachers of the Gospel*. The history of the *Giaques*/Griqua(s), recorded by Cavazzi and Labat is, in part, the outcome of their missionary work under the *Giaques Cassange*. (Tem-ban-Dumba II, however, never converted to Christianity and opposed the *Faith and Religion* to her death. A record of her elaborate funeral and the associated days' long celebratory cannibalistic burial-feast is documented by Cavazzi and Labat[69].)

- Settlement pattern and migration routes

The CCP is a well-researched and widely acknowledged settlement pattern[70]. It is also the settlement pattern of the greater Nguni cluster of tribes of eastern southern Africa, including the Xhosa (and with consideration to CCP variation among them). CCP identification and research underscore the (re)construction of Nguni migration routes to southern Africa (together with other signatory site indicators, such as ceramic-ware vessel shape and decoration) and lies at the base of recording, interdisciplinary research, and the dissemination of information about the various Nguni tribes' recent and more distant pasts.

However, settlements with a rectangular underlying pattern are to date routinely considered as of recent Western-accultured origin—a flawed scientific inference inherited from our colonial past. The greater Sensitive Area 1 study site evidences a complexity of rectangular underlying settlement patterns, including two pre-colonial contact/indigenous and one colonial contact (or Western-accultured) layout patterns.

Sensitive Area 1 (Sites C9P5-06 to C9P5-10)—with its settlement pattern preliminary identified as a Griqua–Khoe pattern[71], supported by the description of the *Giaques Cassange* pattern by Cavazzi and Labat[72]—is a new, previously undocumented pattern (also termed a *Type Site*). Sensitive Area 1 attests to a minority settlement among a majority abaMbo–amaMfengu people, whose ancestral sites across the greater study site terrain also display a rectangular underlying settlement pattern, albeit very different from that of Sensitive Area 1 and, as yet, completely unrecorded (despite the importance of the Mfengu in the history and current cultural make-up of the Eastern Cape). Both settlement patterns, the Sensitive Area 1 Griqua–Khoe and the unrecorded abaMbo–amaMfengu types, are argued as pre-colonial contact/indigenous layouts—their layouts are not resultant from cultural contact with Western peoples—albeit underscored by underlying rectangular patterning, and where the difference in site layout designates the residing culture, Griqua–Khoe vs abaMbo of the amaMfengu. Despite the difference in layout between these two patterns, both settlement types are typified by the inclusion of all aspects of village life on homestead level.

The settlement pattern, or layout, of Mdlokolo village (Sensitive Area 2)—established under the *Fingoland* resettlement programme of 1865—is markedly different from that of Sensitive Area 1 and the unrecorded abaMbo–amaMfengu patterns. The Mdlokolo village layout speaks of the typical Western "village" idiom, with its houses and gardens (or "yards") situated to one side and its livestock enclosures to the other (and across the access road that runs through the village). Under the *Fingoland* resettlement programme, Cape colonial officers were responsible for the design and oversaw construction of the village—hence, the easily identifiable Western-accultured elements therein.

[68] Njinga (Zingha) Mbandi (1581–1663).
[69] Cavazzi & Labat (1732).
[70] See for example:
- Huffman, T.N. 2007. Handbook to the Iron Age: The archaeology of pre-colonial farming societies in southern Africa. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Mitchell, P. 2002. The archaeology of southern Africa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[71] Van Ryneveld (2023a).
[72] Cavazzi & Labat (1732).

Different settlement patterns spell both of tribal/clan culture and changing times. At the greater Sensitive Area 1 study site the two pre-colonial contact/indigenous settlement patterns—the Sensitive Area 1 Griqua–Khoe and unrecorded abaMbo–amaMfengu patterns—evidence early settlement under Hintsa's 1818 granting of refuge to the amaMfengu. Hintsa's requirement for refuge and incorporation was political allegiance to the Xhosa, not cultural conformity. The amaMfengu, the minority Griqua–Khoe and the majority abaMbo–amaMfengu thus settled in their Xhosa-granted lands according to their own cultural customs, and by implication according to their own ancestral settlement ways. Under the *Fingoland* resettlement programme, a Cape colonial programme rooted in cultural conformity (as well as political allegiance), the amaMfengu of the greater Sensitive Area 1 study site region was collectively resettled in nearby villages that conformed to the Cape colonial idiom of a "village"/"African village".

It, thus, follows that both Mfengu pre-colonial contact/indigenous settlement patterns from the greater Sensitive Area 1 study site should be traceable to their most recent historical residings in Natal, before their relocation to Gcalekaland in 1818, through the tracing of the individual settlement pattern layouts. By use of the same argument, their migration routes should be traceable further northward of Natal toward their provincial regions of Monoemugi residings, circa 1575, before Zimbo's invasion of their lands.

Upon Hintsa's granting of refuge to the Mfengu in 1818, the different *difaqane*-ravaged tribes/clans were designated different areas of residing among the Xhosa, and with the leading tribes/clans places of residing thus recorded as "amaZizi settled at Mgomanzi and Mpenduza, amaBhele in Cegcuwana, amaHlubi stayed with Sarhili, the son of Hintsa"[73]. Likewise, by use of the same argument, it should be possible to differentiate between the various amaMfengu tribal/clan pre-colonial contact/indigenous settlement patterns—through the recording thereof under Xhosa authority, before Western-accultured settlement under the *Transkeian Territories* programme—that would allow a more refined and detailed tracing of the various tribes/clans migration routes southward. However, aside from the minority Griqua–Khoe pattern of Sensitive Area 1, the settlement patterns of the Mfengu are, to date, undocumented and a pre-colonial contact/indigenous rectangular settlement pattern academically denied, prohibiting research into not only the amaMfengu's recent but also their more distant tribal/clan pasts.

❖ The grave of Abee Mdlokolo and Mdlokolo village

The grave of Abee Mdlokolo bears further significance with reference to the importance of names/placenames. The Khoe—and by implication the Griqua–Khoe of Sensitive Area 1—was an eponymous society: tribes were named after the founder of the tribe, as explained at hand of the Choboqua(s)/Chobona(s), Namaqua(s)/Namana(s), and Griqua(s)/Grina(s), the people/tribes of Chobo, Nama, and Gri (see Section 3). The Khoe system of tribal expansion retained their eponymous custom[74]: the Grigriqua(s)/Grigrina(s) was, for example, an independent sub-sectioned tribe of the parental Griqua(s)/Grina(s) tribe where the original founder of the tribe (1) as well as the founder of the sub-sectioned tribe (2) were men by the (first) name of Gri, hence, [Gri(1)][gri(2)][-qua(s)]/[-na(s)] → Grigriqua(s)/Grigrina(s). While the Gonakwabequa(s)/Gonakwabena(s) was a sub-sectioned tribe of the Gonaqua(s)/Gonana(s)—also spelled Chainouqua(s)/Chainouna(s)—where the (first) name of the parental tribal founder (1) was Gona/Chainou and that of the founder of the sub-sectioned tribe (2) was Kwabe, hence, [Gona(1)][kwabe(2)][-qua(s)]/[-na(s)] → Gonakwabequa(s)/Gonakwabena(s), and where (some) eastern tribes are reported to have dropped the suffixes [-qua(s)]/[-na(s)] in favour of an [-s] only, thus, Gonakwabe[-qua(s)]/[-na(s)] → Gonakwabes—or Gqunukhwebes in isiXhosa. In addition, all tribes consisted of a number of clans, each with their own clan-name.

[73] Bikitsha 2019: 10.
[74] Van Ryneveld (2023a).

Following the second annexation of the Cape by the British in 1806 and under the Cape government policy of *Christianisation and civilisation* of the native tribes, the name-and-surname system was introduced—and with the adoption of a surname compulsory for baptism. Many native peoples adopted their clan-name as surname. Based on the gravestone inscription of Abee Mdlokolo's grave, it is only reasonable to argue that the Griqua–Khoe of Sensitive Area 1 was a, or primarily a Mdlokolo clan: Mdlokolo is, thus, an original ethnic/cultural Griqua-Khoe clan-name.

The placename *Mdlokolo village* nearby Sensitive Area 1 is of interest. If the Mdlokolo clan was (part of) a minority Griqua–Khoe who settled among a majority abaMbo–amaMfengu upon the granting of lands to them by Hintsa in 1818, then the naming of the nearby village as Mdlokolo village under the *Fingoland* resettlement programme (sometime after 1865) spells of an interesting non-discriminatory relationship with equitable recognition, most likely merit-based or based on old tribal relations between the Griqua–Khoe and the abaMbo of the amaMfengu of the greater Sensitive Area 1 study site—albeit, presumably, not to the awareness of the Cape government. This unique relationship between the Griqua–Khoe and the abaMbo must have prevailed from at least 1818, when they arrived as *difaqane*-ravaged refugees in Gcalekaland, to sometime after the establishment of Mdlokolo village under the *Fingoland* resettlement programme (and it, seemingly, continues to the present-day).

With Mdlokolo established as an original ethnic/cultural Griqua–Khoe clan-name, but with them incorporated into the Xhosa in 1818 with Hintsa's naming of the *difaqane*-ravaged refuge seekers as *a people*, the amaMfengu, Mdlokolo has since been deemed a Mfengu–Xhosa clan-name, or within the Christian sphere as a Xhosa surname. The clan or surname Mdlokolo also surfaces in East London, some 100km south of Mdlokolo village—perhaps not too surprisingly, because southward migration from Mdlokolo village (and with consideration to the possible wider presence of the Mdlokolo Griqua–Khoe clan among the amaMfengu) for labour/employment purposes has been ongoing since Cape colonial times to the present.

However, it is the presence of Mdlokolo (as a business name, reasonably based on the clan/surname of the owner) in Durban, Natal, some 380km north-east of Mdlokolo village, that is of interest—and that signals supports for the Xhosa–Mfengu version of amaMfengu history as recorded by Bikitsha[75], namely that the Mfengu arrived in Gcalekaland in 1818 as refugees from Natal. With the scattering of the Natal tribes during the early *difaqane*, many tribal scatters who stayed in Natal/KwaZulu-Natal—and including members of the Mdlokolo Griqua–Khoe clan—were incorporated into the Zulu. It is not known if Mdlokolo is used among the Coloured peoples (and including recognised Khoe sections of them) in the province; in Kwa-Zulu-Natal, Mdlokolo would, thus, most likely be known as a Zulu clan/surname, despite Mdlokolo's ethnic/cultural Griqua–Khoe origins. The Griqua–Khoe in ethnic/cultural origin *Xhosa* (or Mfengu–Xhosa) Mdlokolo of the Eastern Cape and the *Zulu* Mdlokolo of KwaZulu-Natal is but one instance of the complex multi-dimensional cultural identities of the native peoples of eastern southern Africa.

Ethno-archaeological/socio-cultural consultation, unfortunately, did not form part of the Sensitive Area 1 recording. It is, thus, unknown to which tribes/clans the occupants of Mdlokolo village all belong. A broader description of the peoples of Mdlokolo village is not possible for purposes of this report beyond that which can be gleaned from Abee Mdlokolo's grave.

[75] Bikitsha (2019).

Map 9: Distribution of the original ethnic/cultural Griqua–Khoe clan-name Mdlokolo across Natal and the Eastern Cape, *Google Earth (August 2024)*

6. The negative impact of the Imperialist/neo-Imperialist paradigm on the (re)construction of histories

Soon after the 1994 advent of democracy in South Africa the Imperialist/neo-Imperialist paradigm rose quickly to prominence in the academic heritage arena, with its consequent impact on education (at both school and tertiary level) and in the media (including mainstream and social media). It is the continuation, or revitalisation of the British Imperialist paradigm—the neo-Imperialist paradigm—and its negative impact on the (re)construction of previously neglected, marginalised, and/or unrecognised histories and heritages that is of concern here, and with a focus on the *Sensitive Area 1*[76] study site as it pertains both to Khoe (and specifically the Griqua–Khoe) and Mfengu histories.

Following victory in the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902)—and within the wont that *history is written by the victor*—the British devised a *new history* for their then unified *New South Africa*. The *new history* emphasised, from a British Imperialist viewpoint, their military, political, and economic/developmental achievements, and it focussed on the management of their subjects, both native and Boer/Dutch, in their newly conquered and declared territory. The *new history* of the time was, thus, essentially a British socio-political history that supported British Imperialist achievements and ambitions.

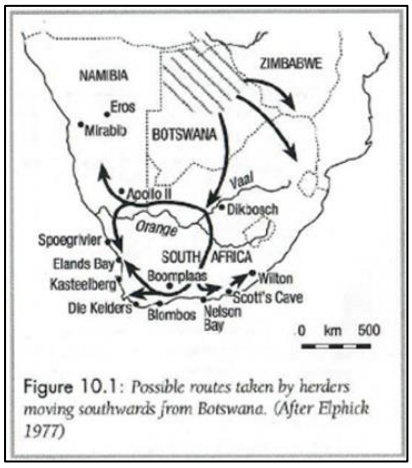
With reference to the Khoe, the *new history* of South Africa advocated the missionary devised and Cape colonial government supported south-western general Cape peninsula Khoe origin, from where the Khoe migrated into the interior of the colony and its surrounds, and along the western and southern coastlines. This *new history* of the Khoe is best confirmed in then professor of history at the University of Cape Town (UCT), Eric Walker's, atlas of 1922[77]. The rise of archaeology in the 1960s and 1970s, with its new interdisciplinary approach and investigative methods and techniques, however, rather supported mainly earlier ethnographic recordings—such as that of Schapera[78], Stow[79], and Theal[80]—who described the Khoe as a people who migrated southward into the region. Various migration routes with a north-western southern African emphasis were not only hypothesised but also commercialised as an understanding of the body-knowledge at the time by, among other, Deacon and Deacon in their 1999 publication, *Human Beginnings in South Africa*[81]. Over the past 25-years—since Deacon and Deacon's publication—biological advances in archaeological research, including morphology but more specifically with a focus on Deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA), have resulted in a main scientific accepted Khoe/pastoralist migration route from Kenya/Tanzania in the east, across Africa mainly through Malawi/Zambia/Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Botswana to Namibia in the west, and along the Westcoast down to the Cape peninsula region[82].

It is noteworthy that all three main stages of the scientific development of the Khoe's advent in southern Africa—the *new history* of the post-Second Anglo-Boer War/first *New South Africa*, the interdisciplinary approach associated with the rise of archaeology in the 1960s and 1970s, and the current biological DNA emphasis in the (re)construction of past migration routes (and physical histories)—all, without exception to rule, wholly exclude recognition of and reference to the *Giaques*/Griqua(s) homeland—with their homeland invaded as recently as circa 1575, and with the history thereof as recorded by Cavazzi and Labat already published in 1732[83]. Moreover, to date an eastern southern African Khoe presence and by implication eastern migration routes are not only unrecognised but fervently opposed in the heritage arena, including historical, anthropological, and archaeological circles. Academic and

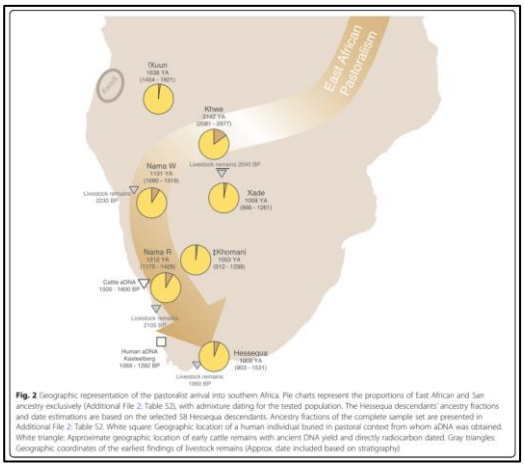
[76] Van Ryneveld (2023a).
[77] Walker, E.A. 1922. Historical atlas of South Africa. Cape Town & London: Humphrey Milford & Oxford University Press.
[78] Schapera, I. 1930. The Khoisan peoples of South Africa. Bushmen and Hottentots. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
[79] Stow, G.W. 1905. The native races of South Africa. A history of the intrusion of the Hottentots and Bantu into the hunting grounds of the Bushmen, the aborigines of the country. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd.
[80] Theal (1910).
[81] Deacon, H.J. & Deacon, J. 1999. Human beginnings in South Africa. Uncovering the secrets of the Stone Age. Cape Town & Johannesburg: David Philip Publishers.
[82] Vicente, M., Lankheet, I., Russel, T. et. al. 2021. Male-biased migration from East Africa introduced pastoralism into southern Africa. BMC Biology 19 (295): 1–16.
[83] Cavazzi & Labat (1732).

public support, including easy (multimedia and internet) access to paradigmatic Imperialist/neo-Imperialist Khoe histories greatly affects the Khoe and persons of Khoe descent—in this case specifically the Griqua–Khoe—in accessing their complex histories and participating in their heritage.

Map 10: Walker's 1922 *new history* map of the Khoe/pastoralists origin in the south-western Cape peninsula region and their migration routes into the interior and along the western and southern coasts (Walker 1922)



Map 11: Possible migration routes of the Khoe/pastoralists, as published in Deacon and Deacon's *Human Beginnings in Southern Africa* (1999)



Map 12: Migration to and arrival of the Khoe/pastoralists in southern Africa, based on DNA analysis (Vicente et. al. 2021)

With reference to the amaMfengu, the work of Stapleton dominates not only the published record of Mfengu/Fingo history but also mainstream thought. Stapleton, professor at the Faculty of Arts, Department of History, University of Calgary, Canada, started his career in the Eastern Cape. From 1993 to 1994 he was a post-doctoral fellow/lecturer at the Department of History, Rhodes University, Grahamstown/Makhanda, and from 1995 to 1998 he was a senior lecturer at the Department of History, University of Fort Hare, Alice[84]. His Mfengu/Fingo *history*—centred on the denial of a northern (Natal and northward) amaMfengu origin and on them being a "pseudo-ethnicity" created by nineteenth century colonial authorities, born from a Xhosa section who rebelled against tribal authority and, hence, opted for migrant labour/employment in the colony[85]—still carries academic and public perception of the amaMfengu, greatly negatively affecting research into and participation by amaMfengu into their recent and more distant pasts (as briefly illuminated in this report).

[84] https://profiles.ucalgary.ca/timothy-stapleton (Accessed: August 2024).
[85] Stapleton (1996).

Based on the greater *Sensitive Area 1*[86] study, it is necessary to dispel at least three Imperialist/neo-Imperialist heritage paradigms:

1. *The Griqua is a people with a recent seventeenth/eighteenth century mixed-race origin in the south-western Cape*.

   The south-eastern Khoe of southern Africa must be acknowledged, and the migration route(s) of (at least) the *Giaques*/Griqua(s) should be traceable from their Congolean homeland, invaded by Zimbo, circa 1575, to their *Chembe* residing just north of Cape Corrientes, *De Gouriqua* in Natal, and *Les Gafriquas* south-west and inland from Natal (and with cognisance that the Khoe, as pastoralists, kept stations away from their homelands), indicating an eastern Griqua(s) migration route rudimentary documented by Tirion, circa 1730.

   Du Val's circa 1663 recording of the *Giaques ou Galies* and *Chimbelles* as *Giaques*/Griqua(s) residings, however, support a western migration route of some Griqua(s) survivors following Zimbo's invasion of their homeland with reference to the *Chimbelles* recording, although a station scenario may apply to the *Giaques ou Galies* locale. (An eastern and western route, most likely the dominant routes, do not reject other more central migration routes taken southward by scattered *Giaques*/Griqua(s) survivors who had fled in advance of Zimbo and his muZimbas.)

   The Griqua(s) thus "named" by the Rev Campbell, LMS, in 1813 and consequently acknowledged by the LMS and the British/Cape government(s) comprises but only one scattered section of the much larger and older *Giaques*/Griqua(s) tribe.

2. *The Mfengu/Fingo is a pseudo-ethnicity created by Cape colonial administrators, and scattered sections of tribes comprising the amaMfengu do not have a northern history*.

   The various amaMfengu tribes/clans' recent northern presence in Natal, before their arrival as *difaqane*-ravaged scatters in Gcalekaland in 1818 should be recognised. While comment regarding Khoe sections among the Mfengu, for purposes of this report, is limited to the Griqua–Khoe of Sensitive Area 1, the more numerous abaMbo–amaMfengu tribes' recent history should also be traceable northward to Natal, and from there further northward toward at least *Embeoe* in the Malawi–Tanzania/Mozambique border region as indicated by Murray, 1891, and nearer the Great Lakes/Burundi–Rwanda region reported by Bikitsha[87] and suspected by AM-M.

   (Tracing the Embo/eMbo homeland to *Embeoe* by means of the recording of settlement patterns, starting with the abaMbo–amaMfengu Gcalekaland settlements granted by Hintsa in 1818—and excluding Western-accultured settlements established under the *Fingoland* resettlement programme—would be necessary to further investigate/establish the link between the abaMbo–amaMfengu and the Ovambo of Namibia and Angola, as well as illuminate that of various other abaMbo scatters/peoples across the region, most notably those of KwaZulu-Natal.)

3. *All southern African native tribes (with specific reference to Iron Age and Stone Age–Khoe) built on a circular based settlement pattern/layout and rectangular underlying patterns signal, unconditionally, Western-accultured practice; sites with rectangular underlying settlement patterns are, therefore, recent and not of significant heritage value*.

   It is necessary to recognise sites with rectangular underlying settlement patterns as potentially highly significant pre-colonial contact/indigenous sites, as evidenced by the Sensitive Area 1 Griqua–Khoe and the unrecorded abaMbo–amaMfengu patterns. The recording of these settlement patterns/layouts is imperative to the (re)construction of heavily marginalised and largely denied

[86] Van Ryneveld (2023a).
[87] Bikitsha (2019).

histories of the Eastern Cape, that carry northward to Natal and beyond, all the way to at least their various provincial regions in the former Kingdom of Monoemugi.

7. Conclusion: Assessment of the Phase 2a Sensitive Area 1 documentation/sketch plan recording in a development context

❖ Sensitive Area 1 near Tsomo: The Phase 1–3 HIA and heritage management process

The development context of the Phase 2a Sensitive Area 1 archaeological project is summarised as:

	Sensitive Area 1 project summary
Project name:	Cluster 9 Phase 5 and Cluster 8 linkage, water supply and access road, Nxamagele and Catshile, near Tsomo, Chris Hani District Municipality, Eastern Cape.
Project proponent/developer:	Chris Hani District Municipality.
Environmental practitioner:	Isi-Xwiba Consulting (management of the Environmental Authorisation [EA] application).
Engineering consultant:	Maluti GSM.

Table 1: Sensitive Area 1 project summary

The Phase 1 archaeological and cultural heritage impact assessment (AIA) that formed part of the specialist studies section of the Basic Assessment (BA) for EA is referenced as:

Van Ryneveld, K. (ArchaeoMaps). 2022. Site sensitivity verification (SSV) and Phase 1 archaeological and cultural heritage impact assessment (AIA) – Cluster 9 Phase 5 and Cluster 8 linkage, water supply and access road, Nxamagele and Catshile, near Tsomo, Chris Hani District Municipality, Eastern Cape.

Fourteen (14) archaeological and cultural heritage resources/sites were identified during the assessment, labelled Sites C9P6-01 to C9P5-14[88]. Sensitive Area 1 comprises Sites C9P5-06 to C9P5-10; recommendations for development included the conservation of Sensitive Area 1 with an approximate 15–20m conservation buffer, monitoring of the site during construction works, and the Phase 2a sketch plan recording thereof. The line route, initially planned through Sensitive Area 1, was realigned southward of the homestead complex or "village"/camp site. However, the line is a gravity line and the recommended 15–20m conservation buffer was simply not possible because of landscape relief—the final line route is, therefore, situated in places within 2–5m from site aspects (see Map 4). Monitoring of construction works in the vicinity of the site coincided with fieldwork for the Phase 2a sketch plan recording. Sensitive Area 1 is permanently conserved within the development context. However, no Phase 3 conservation or additional heritage management requirements pertain to the site's permanent conservation—the site remains unfenced and is not sign-posted. The standard *conservation fence and heritage signage* as permanent conservation measure was deemed inadequate/with little conservation contribution for the unique setting of Sensitive Area 1 with specific reference to its rural, low-impact (mainly informal pedestrian, but not excluding some vehicular throughfare), and directly ancestral-related site context regarding not only Mdlokolo village but also other nearby villages.

The abovementioned Phase 2a work was reported, with the report referenced as:

Van Ryneveld, K. (ArchaeoMaps). 2023a. Phase 2a archaeological site documentation/sketch plan: Sensitive Area 1 – Cluster 9 Phase 5 and Cluster 8 linkage, water supply and access road, Nxamagele and Catshile, near Tsomo, Chris Hani District Municipality, Eastern Cape.

More Phase 2 recommendations for development purposes would have greatly contributed to furthering the heritage understanding of the study site. Phase 2 excavations—be it test pits or more extensive excavation—at Sensitive Area 1 would have allowed the site to be introduced into the academic archaeological discourse not only of the Eastern Cape but potentially of southern Africa. Additional lightweight Phase 2a documentation/sketch plan recording of Site C9P5-11, or Mdlokolo

[88] Van Ryneveld (2022).

village (Sensitive Area 2), would have ushered in the comparison of pre-colonial contact/indigenous vs Western-accultured site layouts with underlying rectangular settlement patterns, while Phase 2a recording of some of the nearby inferred abaMbo–amaMfengu old homesteads (or aspects thereof), such as at Sites C9P5-12 to C9P5-14 (situated some 150–300m from the line route), would have allowed comparison of Griqua–Khoe vs abaMbo–amaMfengu pre-colonial contact/indigenous site layouts. In addition, community consultation (ethno-archaeological/socio-cultural consultation) (see NHRA 1999 Section 38.3.e) would potentially have greatly aided interpretation of Sensitive Area 1, while it could also have contributed, among other, the recording of the resident tribal/clan composition of villagers (Mdlokolo and/or nearby villages) and their marginalised oral histories, and the illumination of contact-period past experiences with specific reference to Sites C9P5-01, a residence/former trading store, and C9P5-02, the ruins of the inferred Anglican mission.

However, the recording of amaMfengu history—or any other history, for that matter—is not and cannot be the responsibility of a single development, and raising the question of (research and) quality AIA assessment with reference to site identification and responsible Phase 2 recommendations and implementation in the Eastern Cape, as well as northward in KwaZulu-Natal (and beyond) where no records are reported on significant or pre-colonial contact/indigenous sites with rectangular underlying settlement patterns. The absence of such archaeological records must be considered against the prominence of the Imperialist/neo-Imperialist paradigm and the inability/unwillingness vs the responsibility of the cultural resources management (CRM) archaeologist/practitioner to report impartially on heritage resources/sites in a development context.

With reference to Phase 3 permanent conservation of Sensitive Area 1 within the development context, I am still not of the opinion that the standard *conservation fence and heritage signage* recommendation would have contributed at all to site conservation. That said, some form of signage/plaque that indicates more specifically the outcomes of the project would potentially serve a greater purpose with reference to heritage awareness specifically among local communities/communities with a vested ancestral interest in a heritage resource/site. While it is necessary to be cognisant of theft/vandalism to heritage resources/sites and signage (for example the reported issue with the plaque of Site C9P5-03[89]), a simple cement or stone inscribed information plague at Sensitive Area 1 would have acknowledged the site as a heritage resource/site, even if only for the attention of low-keyed local traffic through the area, but it would have brought to the attention of local villagers the importance of heritage conservation and commemoration.

In addition, greater Phase 3 reporting recommendations on the conservation/heritage status quo of Sensitive Area 1 would only have been advantageous to the site in specific and the heritage industry in general. The Chris Hani District Municipality is, by implication, responsible for the management of the water supply project, implying staff from time-to-time inspect the line passing by the site, and even simple annual photographic reporting to the Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Authority (ECPHRA) would have resulted in a better heritage rapport between the municipality and ECPHRA—where ECPHRA would receive at least annual updates on the conservation/heritage status quo of significant heritage resources/sites, while the municipality, by means of a basic database and annual reporting to ECPHRA, would stay aware and cognisant of heritage resources/sites in their jurisdiction (and not excluding the potential identification of at least selected such sites for future research and/or heritage tourism development purposes).

❖ Concluding remarks

Greater Phase 2 project recommendations would have resulted in a greater understanding not only of Sensitive Area 1 but also of the site's surrounding cultural landscape (including northward to Natal and

[89] Van Ryneveld (2022).

beyond), both archaeologically and in terms of living heritage and with community consultation central to the bridge between these two aspects of heritage.

Despite limited and lightweight recommendations—with Phase 1 recommendations limited to slight realignment of the water line-route for purposes of Phase 3 permanent conservation, and Phase 2a sketch plan recording of Sensitive Area 1 only—the project attests to the advantage of the implementation of Phase 2 heritage management recommendations in a development context, complete with the identification of Sensitive Area 1 as a Griqua–Khoe pre-colonial contact/indigenous *Type Site*—a previously unrecorded/undocumented settlement pattern. The project, moreover, alludes to the poorly recorded and researched histories of the amaMfengu, with specific reference to the Sensitive Area 1 minority Griqua–Khoe who settled among a majority abaMbo–amaMfengu in the vicinity of the *Transkeian Territories–Fingoland* resettlement programme of 1865 established Mdlokolo village near Tsomo, after their initial granting of the lands as *difaqane*-ravaged refugees from Natal by Hintsa in 1818.

However, the project also highlights the negative impact of the dominant Imperialist/neo-Imperialist paradigm on the histories of tribes/clans comprising the amaMfengu, including their recent but importantly also their more distant pasts—and where both the *Giaques*/Griqua(s) and the abaMbo have traceable histories further north (albeit absent from the archaeological record), as demonstrated in this report, but that are academically and publicly largely denied, negatively affecting these peoples exploration of their histories and participation in their own heritages.

The Sensitive Area 1 archaeological project evidences the efficacy of the Phase 1–3 HIA and heritage management process for developments if implemented in its full form, as well as its contribution in the illumination and (re)construction of previously neglected, marginalised, and/or unrecognised histories in a development context, as development proceeds and, hence, the continued inclusion of such histories into the broader body-knowledge of heritage.

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